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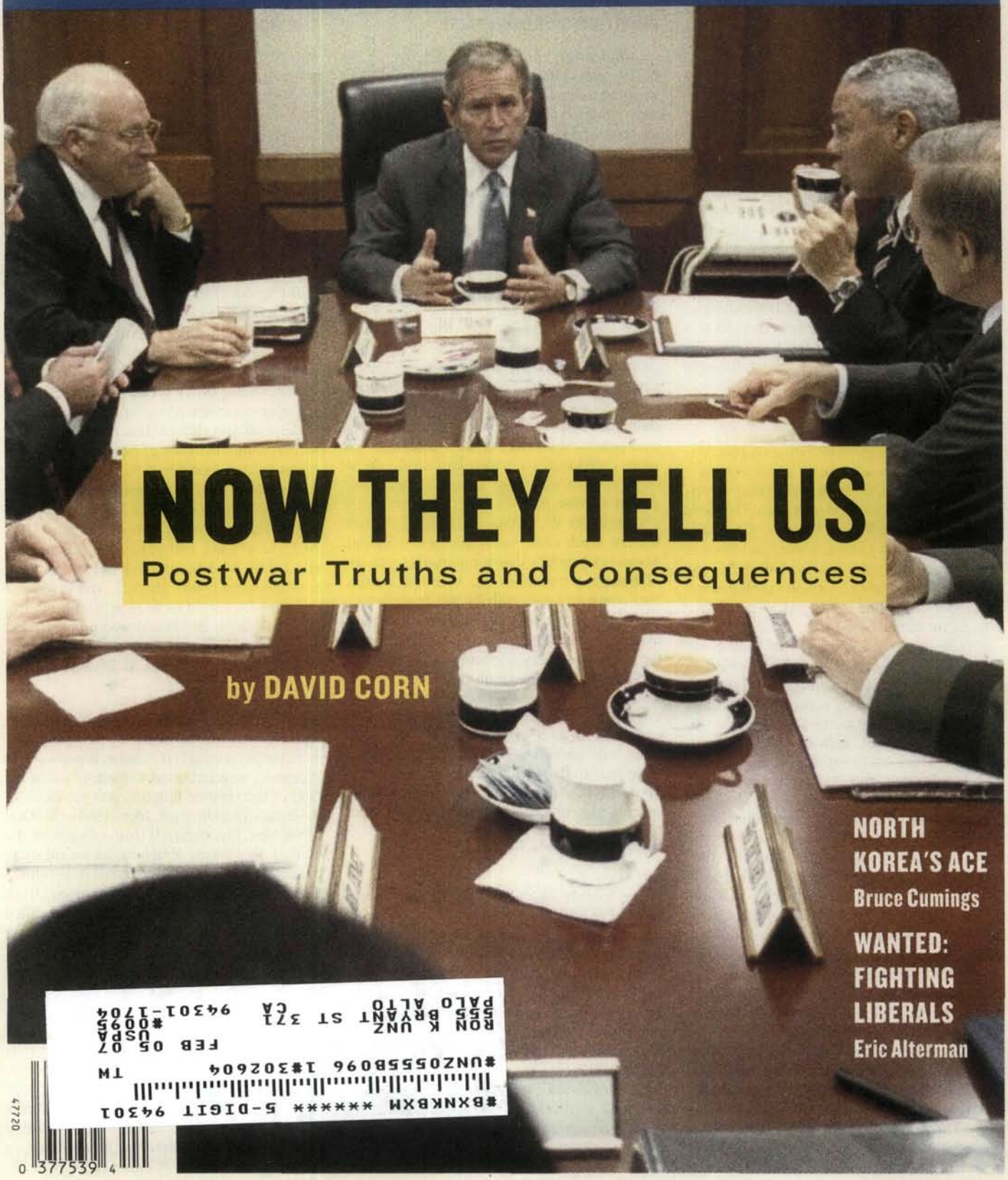

NOW THEY TELL US

Postwar Truths and Consequences

by DAVID CORN

NORTH KOREA'S ACE
Bruce Cumings

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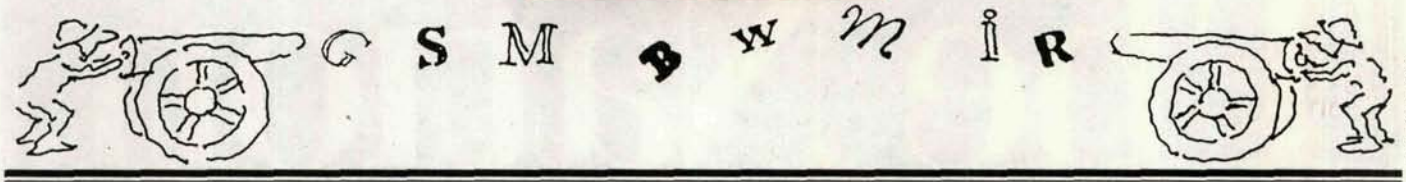

OR, 'THE GUILTY AGE'?

Skokie, Ill.

■ With the shooting over and the oilwells rescued from a despotic regime, it's time to consider what posterity will think. An illegitimate President wages an illegal war, hijacks the Bill of Rights and raids the Treasury on behalf of those who already have too much—and a strange silence emanates from the organs of democracy. No debate in Congress, not even token opposition from the "opposition party" and shamefully little real reporting from our "embedded," echo-chamber media. As the Administration executes its program of aggression abroad and repression at home, sheepish acquiescence is the order of the day. What label will historians give this not-so-brave world of ours? May I suggest The Gelded Age? HUGH IGLARSH

AXING ARNETT FOR PROFIT$

Washington, DC

■ Tom Goldstein, in "The Firing of Peter Arnett" [April 28]—and most media outlets—overlooked a critical factor in the firing of veteran journalist Arnett: the relationship between GE/NBC, Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. and the Bush Administration. Arnett had been in Baghdad covering the war for both NBC and the National Geographic Explorer cable channel (the latter controlled by Rupert Murdoch and also partly owned by GE).

As *Nation* readers know, NBC and News Corp. are aggressively leading an effort to scuttle longstanding FCC rules that limit how many stations a company may own and whether they may acquire or merge with another network. The Bush FCC appears to support such changes, which could happen as early as June. Bob Wright, vice chair of GE and chairman and CEO of NBC, personally lobbied FCC chairman Michael Powell the week of Arnett's dismissal.

The last thing NBC wants to do—with untold billions at stake—is alienate the Bush Administration. In addition, GE undoubtedly stands to gain from future defense and Iraq "reconstruction" contracts. Given the state of cable TV concentration, companies like National Geographic were forced to turn over control of their Explorer channel to Murdoch in order to secure distribution. It was Murdoch's Fox News channel that helped build the criticism of Arnett, not coincidentally.

TV coverage of the war has been ultimately impacted by the political goals of the media industry, with its hands out for a forthcoming Bush Administration multibillion-dollar giveaway. The axing of Peter Arnett should be seen through that lens. JEFF CHESTER

Center for Digital Democracy

ABORTION'S 'HUMAN FACE'

Charlottesville, Va.

■ The human face of so-called partial-birth abortion is more diverse than Katha Pollitt portrays ["Subject to Debate," April 21]. It includes the faces of many thousands of pregnant women who discover, after routine prenatal testing, that the fetus they are carrying has a severe anomaly. This past February, it became my face. My story is not atypical.

My husband and I had been trying to have a baby for more than two years. In November 2002, we were thrilled to find ourselves pregnant. My doctor performed ultrasounds every week and a half over the first few months to make sure that the embryo was developing normally. It was such a treat to see our child growing. I kept the pictures and my thoughts in a pregnancy journal.

At thirteen weeks, however, everything changed when we discovered our child had a condition most commonly associated with Trisomy 13. Most fetuses with Trisomy 13 die in utero; of those who make it to birth, almost half do not survive past the first month; roughly three-quarters die within six months. Neither life nor death come easily for these children. Theirs is a painful existence marked by periods of breathing cessation and seizures. Further tests confirmed that our baby had Trisomy 13.

Not wanting our child to suffer, we decided to terminate the pregnancy. I had an abortion on the first day of my sixteenth week of pregnancy. The procedure I required, a D&E, is prohibited by the pending federal legislation. If this ban becomes law, many women who tragically find themselves in a situation similar to mine will have few options available. How many human faces will it take for lawmakers to understand the devastating costs of prohibiting safe abortion procedures? AUDREY EISEN

SAT: THE RACIAL IMBALANCE TEST

Los Angeles

■ Jay Rosner in "On White Preferences" [April 14], surprisingly omits one of the most important factors that account for differences in performance between whites and blacks on the SAT. Despite claims made by the Educational Testing Service, the test is eminently coachable. As a result, poor and minority students whose parents lack the means to prepare their children for the test through guided practice are placed at a distinct disadvantage. When coupled with the documented test construction methods used by ETS, it's apparent that the SAT is a poor indicator of anything except a student's ability to take the SAT.

WALT GARDNER

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO DUBYA?

Bath, NY

■ Randall Balmer's "Bush and God" [April 14] is right on! I have heard this President subvert the gospel from the evening I first heard him as a presidential contender. Jesus, along with 99 percent of the Roman Empire, was up against a system very much like the reconfigured US government Bush has created with the amazing acquiescence of Congress and to the not-so-amazing applause of the religious right. And Jesus opposed that system (Mark 1:14-15 *et passim*) and said that God opposed it, effectively speaking out (Mark 5:1-20) and speaking up every waking day (Luke 13:32), equally effectively refusing to speak upon occasion (Mark 15:5), demonstrating (Mark 11:1-11), being civilly disobedient at every turn (Mark 11:15-19), organizing (Mark 1:14-20; 2:13-17; 6:6-13) and agitating in season and out (Mark 2:23-28). He kept talking about (Mark 4:1-34; 13:3-37) and creating examples of how his alternative vision for the world would look (Mark 6:30-44) and feel (Mark 1:21-28). Jesus' tactics got him into trouble, of course (Mark 2:6). The perpetrators of the system got him in the end (Mark 14:32-15:47) and intimidated the men around him (Mark 14:50), although not the women, it would seem (Mark 16:1-2). And it was the women who taught us to sing "Don't mourn, organize" (John 20:18) and who probably kept the movement going. DENNIS WIENK

Rector, St. Thomas' Church

Buffalo, NY

■ As a progressive Christian, I was happy to read Randall Balmer's, dare I say, prophetic commentary. I wish to take issue, however, with Balmer's characterization of Bush's God as the God of the Hebrew Prophets and the Book of Revelation (and Jimmy Carter's God as the God of the New Testament). If Bush's God were the God of the Hebrew Prophets, he would share their concern for social justice and their emphasis upon not needlessly shedding blood. Bush would heed the words of Ezekiel, who called upon the princes of Israel to "Put away violence and oppression, and do what is just and right."

While the Prophets' language and imagery are often jarring, they are a source of inspiration for many progressive Jews, Christians and Muslims. One ought not to forget that the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. quoted the Prophet Amos when he called for justice to "roll down like waters." No, Bush's God is not the God of the Hebrew Scriptures at all, and neither is his the God that Christians believe is revealed in Jesus Christ. For otherwise he would be, in

(Continued on Page 22)

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EDITORIALS

Mapping Mideast Peace

With the close of the Iraq war—at least its first phase—the Bush Administration has another opportunity to seek a lasting solution to the Israel-Palestine conflict and to mend relations with the world community. This will be a test case for Washington's willingness to abide by international law and work constructively with multilateral institutions.

As the latest suicide bombing in Tel Aviv and the intensified repression in Gaza make clear, Israelis and Palestinians desperately need outside intervention. At least 2,100 Palestinians and 700 Israelis have been killed since the latest uprising began. The Palestinian economy and governing institutions have been devastated, and the Israeli economy is in its worst recession in fifty years.

On the face of it, this would not seem to be an auspicious moment. An Administration that has flouted world opinion and international law in prosecuting a pre-emptive war against Iraq is now addressing a problem that demands acute sensitivity to long-established norms of justice and human rights. This same Administration has grown ever closer to the most extremist government in Israeli history, whose Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, is outdone in belligerence by Cabinet colleagues who openly call for ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians.

But with Britain, its sole major ally in the Iraq invasion, pressing for a resolution of the situation, and with Arab nations demanding evenhanded diplomacy from Washington, the Bush Administration is sending Colin Powell to the region and has set in motion the "road map" drafted by the Quartet comprising the United States, the European Union, the United Nations and Russia. The road map, in addition to mandating an immediate cessation of violence and terrorism, improves on the Oslo Accords by calling for "an independent, democratic, and viable Palestinian state" alongside Israel and a settlement that will "end the occupation that began in 1967." But it puts off until 2005, at the end of the negotiating process, all the really crucial questions: borders, Jerusalem, refugees and settlements—as if the settlements were not the key element of the occupation. The postponement of these fundamental issues is precisely what killed Oslo.

There are other flaws, chief among them the road map's inordinate attention to changing the Palestinian government. No one desires genuine democratic reform more fervently than Palestinians themselves, but it is almost as if the road map's architects were willfully denying the root of the conflict, which lies in thirty-five years of Israeli occupation, expropriation and settlement expansion. In fact, Bush and Sharon are far less interested in Palestinian democracy than they are in replacing Yasir Arafat with more pliable leaders like new Prime Minister Abu Mazen and Muhammad Dahlan, his security nominee. Dahlan's record of unlawful imprisonment and torture during the Oslo period was condemned by both Israeli and Palestinian human rights organizations.

The evangelical Christian right and AIPAC are already mounting a campaign in Congress to undermine the road map and any other proposal that would make even minor demands on Israel. Europeans, Palestinians and Israelis who want peace and everyone struggling for a just resolution to this conflict will have to work to counteract these forces. Fourteen major Jewish philanthropists just made a worthy effort in this regard, sending a letter to Congress supporting the road map. Last year Bush pledged his support for a viable Palestinian state. He must now be held to his word.

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Bush's Bomb

The latest crisis with North Korea appears to be about the North finally declaring that it has the bomb, but in fact it is about the Bush Administration's inability to hide or control sharp internal conflicts over what to do about the North—a split likened by Joseph Biden, former Senate Foreign Relations Committee chair, to "the San Andreas fault." Powell sends negotiators to meet North Koreans, Rumsfeld schemes for another preventive war, Cheney nurses a private foreign policy and Bush dithers. North Korea, which knows its own interests far better than the Bush crowd knows US interests, runs rings around them by appearing to turn over its ace in the hole, then putting it back in the deck. The result is the failure of Bush's North Korea policy: In two years it has accomplished exactly nothing—except for a major anti-American movement in Seoul and perhaps the creation of circumstances in which the North was left with no choice but to go nuclear.

As Assistant Secretary of State James Kelly was preparing for Beijing meetings with North Korea in late April, Donald Rumsfeld circulated a memo, later leaked, arguing for a joint Chinese-American effort to overthrow Kim Jong Il's regime. That bizarre and fanciful scheme presumes that China, which allied with Kim Il Sung when he joined the Chinese Communist Party during his guerrilla days in the 1930s, would now turn on Pyongyang because Rumsfeld wants it to. This *opera buffa* also recapitulated Kelly's visit to Pyongyang in October, when he tried to restart high-level negotiations in the immediate aftermath of the publication of Bush's pre-emptive strike doctrine and another strategic leak placing North Korea at the top of the preventive-war list.

This time Kelly again harped on the theme that North Korea had to dismantle its nuclear program before anything else could happen, and so the North Koreans sprang on him the news that the North already possessed a nuclear weapon, which (according to Kelly's interpretation) it might test, use or sell on the international market. The talks ended abruptly. Bush averred that the North was "back to their old blackmail game." But he wants the North to give up its nuclear program with no compensation and no assurances about its security. That is an "infantile and nonsensical" position, the party newspaper said, given what happened in Iraq. "The DPRK will be left with no option but to do everything to defend itself unless the US legally guarantees no use of arms, including nukes, against the DPRK."

This past October Kelly accused the North of beginning a second nuclear program by importing uranium-enrichment technology from Pakistan. The North admitted as much, or so Kelly told us, and the meetings dissolved amid mutual rancor. Finally, in April we learned that the North's "talking points" for the October meetings included a trade-off of its nuclear programs and its missile exports in return for US aid and recognition of the DPRK.

In the aftermath of the October meeting the Administration announced that the only thing worth talking to Pyongyang about was how it was going to dismantle its nuclear programs, and the only acceptable forum for such discussions was a multilateral one. In April, however, the State Department suddenly agreed to meet in Beijing for what were, in effect, open-ended bilateral talks—thus

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reversing Bush's "policy" yet again. The North said it made a "bold proposal" to settle all outstanding problems, but Kelly ignored it. Days later Powell was forced to admit the North had indeed offered to "scrap" its nukes and missiles if Washington would normalize relations and provide basic security guarantees. It also turned out that Kelly's interpreters were mistaken: The North had said nothing about testing or selling nuclear weapons.

If the United States were to do what the North Koreans want, it would return things to Clinton's unfulfilled promises in the framework agreement of October 1994, including normalizing relations with the North and refraining from threatening it. And it would revive the missile deal Clinton successfully negotiated before leaving office, which Bush turned his back on. But Bush can't do that: Diplomacy with the North is anathema to the Republican right.

Most experts do not believe that North Korea has a usable nuclear weapon, or that it could possibly have reprocessed its 8,000 fuel rods after regaining control of them from UN inspectors in January. Thus, even today, it has only enough plutonium for one or two crude nuclear devices. Since 1991 the North Koreans have cleverly kept their nuclear ace in the hole concealed while pushing and prodding Washington toward normalizing relations and guaranteeing their security. In Beijing they appeared to turn their hole card over, and Kelly fell for it. Clinton Administration officials say that back in 1993 North Korea related the same story about having a bomb, again in an unstructured verbal aside during negotiations, and they chose to ignore it. The Bush Administration, to the contrary, leaks everything it hears.

North Korea often says it prizes national sovereignty like life itself; this has been the leitmotif of the regime since it was founded in the aftermath of decades of brutal Japanese colonialism, and more so after we tried to "liberate" it in 1950, at an appalling human cost. Bush, however, has run roughshod over essential principles of international relations and world peace: In place of respect for other nations' sovereignty, he puts assassination, "decapitation" and "regime change." Our last foray into North Korea helped bring about an armed-to-the-teeth garrison state, and fifty years later it is still with us. If North Korea does finally get the bomb, there's very little we can do about it. So let's just call it Bush's bomb.

BRUCE CUMINGS

Bruce Cumings teaches at the University of Chicago. Next fall the New Press will publish his book on North Korea.

Reflections on a War

It was the best of wars. It was the worst of wars. But did the war in Iraq change anyone's mind? Those who urged the war into being retain their conviction that it was right, as those who sought to prevent it maintain it was wrong. We, whether committed to war or to peace, must understand this: There was no war. There is no peace.

War requires two opposing forces to fight each other. In Iraq, only one army bothered. The other vanished. Operation Iraqi Freedom began with a failed attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein on March 20 and climaxed on April 9, with the felling not of the dictator but of one of his many statues in Baghdad. There are two things on which most of us, pro- and antiwar, should agree. The first is: It is good that Saddam Hussein is no longer president of Iraq. The second is: It is bad that the US military has taken thousands of Iraqi lives and now occupies Iraq.

Anyone in the antiwar camp who cannot see that Iraq without Saddam is a good thing for most Iraqis should abandon the public debate. But as fortunate as his disappearance must be for Iraqis, it should be a matter of indifference to the American people. Saddam Hussein never launched a war against them. His weapons of mass destruction, wherever they may have been, destroyed no American lives or homes. No one, outside the mental factories where propaganda is fabricated, believed Saddam threatened America or its people. The United States now governs another people without their approval, which is bad for Iraq, bad for America and bad for those parts of the world for which Operation Iraqi Freedom may provide, in the minds of our masters in Washington, a precedent.

Having spent almost three months in Iraq before, during and after the brief American invasion, I have returned to Europe to mull over the war-versus-peace arguments. A consequence of the occupation may be to confirm the United States as a global imperial power. Will America now rule by force of arms what it cannot control with threats, money and diplomacy? Iraq is not an isolated case, as America's neoconservative rulers remind us. They are threatening Syria, Iran and other dissident states with similar attention. For the British, in whose path the United States is treading, Iraq was no isolated instance of nation-building. It was a small part of a grand strategy. Thomas Lyell, "Late of the Civil Administration...and District Magistrate, Baghdad," wrote in 1923, "Though, as an isolated policy, our presence in Mesopotamia seems to involve a criminal and wanton extravagance, [it] justifies itself as part of the immense Problem of Empire. As the key to the future of our dominions, it will appear less futile and less fatuous to the 'man in the street', who, whatever else he may be, is an imperialist at heart." (The British killed at least 9,000 Iraqis to suppress a rebellion against the British occupation.) Is the American man or woman in the street becoming an imperialist at heart?

America's proconsul, Gen. Jay Garner, looked to his own career as a guide to running Iraq. He told the *New York Times*, "Start with Vietnam and the strategic hamlet concept." That program, for which Garner worked in 1971 and 1972, displaced hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese peasants, burned their villages and corralled them into the kind of collective villages for which Saddam would be accused of war crimes against the Kurds in the 1980s. Garner, at least, did not cite that other notorious Vietnam War operation: the Phoenix Program, which assassinated many thousands of Vietnamese suspected of collaborating with the Vietcong.

At dawn the day before the Marines pulled down the Saddam statue shown on television, I was camping in the desert near Nasiriyah with some Iraqis who had dedicated their lives to overthrowing Saddam. They came close to success in 1991, until the United States permitted Saddam to deploy his helicopters to crush their rebellion. Now the Americans were taking Iraq for them. Some were grateful. Most had misgivings. We were drinking black tea outdoors when a former Iraqi soldier named Hamid talked about war. His family were Shiite Muslims from Basra, and he grew up

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COMMENT

in Baghdad. When he was only 14, he became a soldier in the Iran-Iraq war. He deserted the army during the war in Kuwait and later joined Ahmad Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress. He had gone to Qatar as the INC's representative to the US coalition's Central Command, believing in a role for Iraqis in the liberation of their country. Four days later, he left. "Before that," Hamid said, "I distrusted the [American] politicians. They're like politicians everywhere. But I trusted the military." His trust in the US military vanished, along with his belief in the US invasion, because no American listened to any Iraqi voice. Washington was determined to run the invasion alone, as it would decide the fate of Iraq without what the White House calls "foreign interference."

Hamid lamented the way the US military was treating the Iraqis, the lack of US help for Iraqi alternatives to Saddam's loyalists on one side and the Islamic fundamentalists with their Iranian supporters on the other. The Iranians, meanwhile, were organizing the people. They were providing help and arms. They were waiting for America to stumble in the minefield of Iraqi tribal and sectarian politics. Hamid said, "I cannot believe I have fought all these years to turn my country over to Iran."

The confusion in Iraq today leaves open another possibility: continued chaos and conflict among Iraq's many factions, with American forces guarding the oilfields and the four airbases Washington says it intends to keep. It happened in Angola: While war raged, an army protected the Cabinda enclave's oil. Production never stopped. CHARLES GLASS

© 2003 by Charles Glass. Charles Glass is writing a book on the Middle East, Death's Pale Flags, *for HarperCollins.*

Sodomy for Some

So it looks like Rick Santorum won't go the way of Trent Lott. The chairman of the Senate Republican Caucus came under fire in late April for antigay remarks made during a bizarre interview with the Associated Press in which he defended the criminalization of sodomy, comparing "homosexual acts" to bigamy, adultery, incest and, as he put it, "man on child" and "man on dog" action. While Santorum was publicly rebuked by moderate Senate Republicans, and several Democrats demanded that he resign his leadership position, Bush mounted enough of a defense to save Santorum's job, calling the senator an "inclusive man."

Indeed, Santorum did try to be "inclusive," insisting he has "nothing against anyone who's homosexual" but rather has "a problem with homosexual acts." It's the old "love the sinner, hate the sin" saw that accepts homosexuals as long as they abstain from homosexual sex. What's particularly troubling about Santorum's antigay statements, however, is that they were made just weeks after a crucial gay-rights case, *Lawrence v. Texas*, was argued before the Supreme Court (a decision is expected in June).

Lawrence v. Texas contests a Texas "Homosexual Conduct" law that specifies sodomy as "deviate sexual intercourse" between persons of the same gender—one of only four state laws that prohibit sodomy for homosexuals only. (Nine other states have laws that criminalize sodomy no matter who engages in it.) Lambda Legal Defense & Education Fund pursued a two-pronged strategy in arguing before the Court. Its broader privacy argument would strike down all sodomy laws and reverse *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the 1986 Supreme Court decision that upheld a Georgia sodomy statute. Its narrower equal-protection argument would eliminate just the homosexual sodomy laws on the basis that they unfairly single out gays and lesbians.

In reality, few sodomy laws are ever enforced, and penalties usually amount to a small fine. As Lambda's brief points out, Texas has neither the interest in nor the ability to prosecute every incident of homosexual sex. The law's true effect is to brand gays and lesbians as second-class citizens and license discrimination against them. It's against this pernicious effect that Lambda has shaped its equal-protection claim, pointing out, for example, that sodomy laws are often cited to prevent gay and lesbian couples from adopting children, and thus forming families, simply because of the presumption of criminal sexual activity.

The argument about equality and family is likely to appeal to conservative Justices like Sandra Day O'Connor (who sided with the majority in *Bowers*) and Anthony Kennedy. Ruling narrowly on equal protection would allow them to strike down the Texas law while keeping *Bowers* intact. And this legal argument has its political correlate: It's the strategy used by mainstream gays who counter antigay rhetoric by offering up sanitized, family-oriented versions of homosexuality, as when Dan Savage argued in the *New York Times* that gay families are "strong, healthy families" or when the Republican Unity Coalition, a conservative gay group, said that "Senator Santorum owes an apology to gay men and women who support, build and have loving families all across America."

Fair enough, as far as it goes. But the gay-family-values/equal-rights argument fundamentally misreads the right wing's expansive view of sodomy laws. Santorum doesn't just hate "homosexual acts." He condemns in the same breath any "acts outside of traditional heterosexual relationships" that are "antithetical to a healthy, stable, traditional family." Likewise, the Texas brief asserts the right to regulate any "sexual misconduct outside the venerable institution of marriage." Santorum and Texas aren't just antigay; they're antisex. They want to roll back the clock to the colonial era, when laws prohibited any nonprocreative sexual acts—consigning us all to be criminal sodomites.

Even a narrow equal-protection decision could lay the groundwork for repealing nondiscriminatory sodomy laws if, in practice, they primarily target gays and lesbians. But Lambda's privacy claim—that the state has no business intruding on anyone's private, consensual relations—deserves more political attention. A victory on that front would not only bolster reproductive-rights laws based on privacy, it would also avoid strengthening the reactionary notion that sex should be reserved for parenting, monogamous couples, with or without a queer twist. It's also truer to the diversity of gay and lesbian sex—sex outside marriage, sex for fun, sex without love, sex that has nothing to do with children or families. Sex can't possibly bear all those burdens, and in a country that respects sexual freedom, we shouldn't have to pretend that it does to remain on the right side of the law. RICHARD KIM

Richard Kim is a PhD candidate in American studies at NYU.

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COMMENT

Axing Higher Ed

One of the many casualties of our national obsession with the war on Iraq is the emerging crisis of America's public colleges and universities. The situation is so grave that for the first time since the end of World War II college may become a financial impossibility for a quarter or more of our nation's young people. As nearly every state in the union suffers the effects of a recession and tax cuts, legislatures are slashing higher-education budgets, and public colleges are responding by raising tuition and cutting aid. According to the National Center on Public Policy and Higher Education, tuition and fees at four-year institutions jumped 2 to 24 percent in 2002 in all fifty states. Next year many students will face additional tuition hikes of 10 to 20 percent. In New York, which faces an $11.5 billion budget hole, Governor Pataki has proposed a 15 percent cut in the state's higher-education budget and a tuition increase of about 35 percent for students attending the state and city universities. "Most observers agree [these measures] represent only the opening round in what is likely to be a series of painful adjustments to diminished revenues," says the center's report *College Affordability in Jeopardy.*

Many students from low-wage households may be forced to drop out. Those who remain enrolled will almost certainly need another job on top of the one or two they already hold down. But work without end spells less time for study. In either case the life chances of many working-class young people are now severely reversed. It is an open secret that good jobs are disappearing faster than new opportunities are being created. Those without a degree are consigned to work as cashiers or domestic workers; in fast-food restaurants or nonunion construction sites, where they will be lucky to find minimum-wage, benefit-free employment.

For many public colleges, budget cuts and tuition increases are not new. States like Massachusetts, California and New York have been running on empty for more than two decades, and their systems are threadbare. Their latest "painful adjustments" include more hiring freezes and early retirements among full-time faculty, a combination that spells further growth in poorly paid part-time, contingent staff; bulging class size; and fewer course offerings. But once fat and sassy systems like Wisconsin, Indiana and Michigan now find themselves under the knife for the first time in recent memory. And state universities throughout the Midwest and the South—where state universities prospered during the industrial boom of the 1980s and '90s—are under siege as well.

Nationwide, university administrators and trustees are being told, in effect, that the price of survival for their public institutions is to become more private. So, just as public colleges shut their doors to needy students by raising tuition, they practice triage by closing departments that cannot raise outside money and make grant-procurement a criterion for faculty hires.

The budget crisis is no accident, but rather the symptom of a calculated Bush Administration policy to privatize public goods, including higher education, by starving social programs. In its race to restore America to the Coolidge years, the Administration is undermining a central condition of American economic development after World War II: the scientific and technological knowledge provided by our state universities. The federal government could have found the resources to bail the states out in their quest to maintain education and other vital services. But it chose instead a massive gift to the rich of tax cuts and a costly military buildup, which together have put the federal Treasury in the red. So governors, most of them Republicans, who have sought relief from Washington have gone home empty-handed.

This irrational policy is made politically palatable because, unlike their counterparts in the fields of public health and primary education, higher-education unions and university administrators have not waged a vigorous campaign to build public support for their institutions. They have failed to gain public recognition for the idea that, given the realities of the job market, higher education should be a right, not a privilege. And they have failed to refute charges from the right that universities are "ivory towers" rife with political correctness that teach subversive ideas and dispense useless knowledge.

It is a hard-won democratic achievement that American colleges and universities are no longer the privilege of the rich, the well-born and the talented. It is time for America's 15 million college students and their parents, along with the 1 million faculty and instructional staff of higher-education institutions, their unions and professional associations, and the tens of millions of college alumni, to insist that higher education be a right, and that our public colleges be well equipped and well staffed.

In some states, such as California, faculty and staff unions at public universities have begun to put higher education on the agenda of state legislatures. In New York, these unions have joined other public-sector workers to press for new taxes on

(Continued on Page 24)

CALVIN TRILLIN

On the Search for Weapons of Mass Destruction, Whose Presence Was the Reason Given (At Least On Mondays, Thursdays and Alternate Fridays) For Waging Preventive War on Iraq

So maybe we will find them yet,
Well stashed away in some place clever.
Or were they just destroyed in March?
Or never there at all? Whatever.

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JONATHAN SCHELL

Backing Up

Now that the regime of Saddam Hussein has been overthrown, the Bush Administration, like a submarine that, having successfully sunk one ship, resurfaces its periscope to find others, is looking about the world to see what countries it may decide to attack. Since these prospective wars, like the one against Iraq, would be "wars of choice," it's hard for dizzied citizens to guess which nations, if any, are next. Syria? The Administration leveled charges like those it made against Iraq: possession of weapons of mass destruction, support for terrorism. Of such stuff is "regime change" made. "There's gotta be change in Syria as well," Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told *Meet the Press*. But then the President said he had no plans to attack Syria just at this minute. He stated, "I have no specific operation in mind at this point in time. I can't think of a specific moment or incident that would require military action as we speak." It was a reprieve—for the time being. Perhaps Iran? An Administration spokesman lamented Iran's "intervention" in Iraq's domestic affairs. (This from a country that has just overthrown the government of Iraq and now occupies the country.) But the nation most often mentioned is North Korea, which has announced that it actually possesses nuclear weapons—the sort of weaponry of mass destruction that the toppled Saddam regime was accused of building but which so far has turned out not to have had after all. At the antiwar demonstrations this past winter, participants sometimes chanted, "This is what democracy looks like." The military occupation of Iraq and all the talk about who might be next is what empire looks like.

The dilemma posed by the North Korea crisis is distressingly clear-cut. On the one hand, North Korea has announced that it has nuclear weapons and intends to keep them and make more unless the United States forswears any attack upon it and makes other concessions. (The United States has independently confirmed that North Korea does indeed have one or two nuclear weapons. Curiously, however, the facts remain in doubt. Both governments have a reason to practice deception on this point: the North Koreans in order to increase deterrence, the Bush Administration in order to push the failure to stop proliferation back into the Clinton years.) On the other hand, George W. Bush has declared that "the United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons"—and then named North Korea (along with Iraq and Iran) as one of the countries in question. If both regimes remain on their present course, there must be a collision. And if there is a collision, one of two things must happen: Either North Korea must throw up its hands and disarm or the United States, in a second application of its preventive policy, must wage another war. Defense Secretary Rumsfeld has already circulated a memo calling for "regime change" in North Korea. But war against North Korea will be a different matter from war against Iraq. North Korea possesses 700 fighter jets, 3,700 tanks, about 700 missiles capable of hitting South Korea and Japan and 11,000 artillery pieces within range of South Korea's capital and largest city, Seoul. Even if nuclear weapons are not used, there may, military analysts have stated, be as many as 1 million casualties on the *first day* of the war. The war will of course go on for more than one day. And if nuclear weapons are used—by North Korea, the United States or both—this figure must be multiplied many times over. In sum, hard as it is to concentrate on a new war in Asia, we must start waking up to the fact that the crisis over North Korea is incomparably more dangerous than anything that has happened or is likely to happen in Iraq.

There is, however, a perfectly obvious solution to the crisis. It would be a deal in which each side accepts the main demand of the other: North Korea would give up its nuclear program and the United States would give the requested security guarantee and economic help. The United States fears harm from North Korea's nuclear weapons, but North Korea builds those weapons because it fears attack by the United States. The two countries have no quarrel but the quarrel itself. No other tangible bone of contention—no territorial dispute, for example—divides them. The solution is to declare the quarrel over, and act accordingly. Indeed, on October 12, 2000, in the last days of the Clinton Administration, the United States and North Korea did exactly that. They declared, "Neither government would have hostile intent toward the other." Or, as North Korea expert Leon Sigal has characterized this statement, "In plain English, we are not enemies."

Certainly, no one can say that the choice between war and acceptance of a nuclearized North Korea will have been forced upon the United States until such a settlement has at least been proposed. What is far from obvious, unfortunately, is that either government is ready to accept a deal fashioned along these lines. Until very recently, the position of the United States was that it would not even enter into talks with North Korea until North Korea first agreed to roll back its nuclear program. Now talks have begun, but the United States has not yet indicated a readiness to give the requested guarantees. The President has called the North Korean position "blackmail." North Korea, for its part, may or may not be willing to give up its nuclear weapons program even in the event that it receives the guarantees it demands. It may be using the current talks with the United States as a ploy to buy time while it produces nuclear weapons. Then, with a larger nuclear arsenal in hand, it would bargain from a position of strength. Such a position is one the United States would be in an excellent position to understand. The US government has always believed that negotiations must be conducted from a position of strength. Unfortunately, history offers no example of a country that itself built and then surrendered its nuclear arsenal in the face of external threats.

As in the Cuban missile crisis forty-one years ago, diplomacy is given the task of escaping traps created by rigid, belligerent, unwise military threats and commitments. The arts we need now are the ones not of winning but of backing up.

Jonathan Schell is the author of the just-published The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People *(Metropolitan).*

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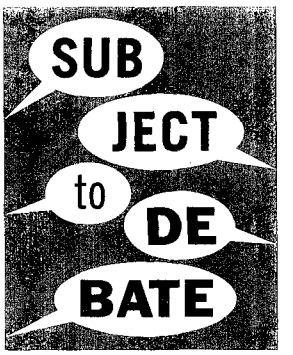
KATHA POLLITT

Weapons of Mass Delusion?

Tom Friedman doesn't care if the United States ever finds weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. The recently discovered skull of a murdered Iraqi political prisoner is all the retroactive justification he needs for the pre-emptive war: "That skull, and the thousands more that will be unearthed, are enough for me," he wrote in his April 27 *New York Times* column. "Mr. Bush doesn't owe the world any explanation for missing chemical weapons (even if it turns out the White House hyped this issue)."



Nothing succeeds like success. Who cares about WMDs when you have Baghdad? Just the usual handful of liberal columnists, it seems—oh, and the rest of the world, which is less willing than Mr. Friedman to be hoodwinked in the interest of a higher cause. Here in America, we've already forgotten about the nuclear evidence that wasn't. When the proposition that aluminum tubes found in Iraq could have been used to refine uranium was debunked by UN atomic energy head Mohamed ElBaradei, and when the evidence Colin Powell presented that he said proved Iraq had imported uranium from Niger turned out to be based on forged documents, did the ubiquitous former CIA analyst Kenneth Pollack, whose *The Threatening Storm* specifically argued for war on the grounds that Saddam was developing nuclear weapons, say, "Oh well, never mind"? (Come to think of it, did Pollack, on his rounds as a TV commentator, ever point out that his book called for war *after* breaking Al Qaeda and cooling Israeli-Palestinian tensions?)

Bush himself said in his State of the Union address that the case for war was not so much Saddam Hussein's brutal doings as the threat he represented to the United States, and his neighbors, as warmonger and terrorist. So if it turns out that Saddam did not have significant stocks of biological or chemical weapons and had no dealings with Osama bin Laden—according to the London *Observer*, Tony Blair never believed he did—can we rewind the tape and get the Baghdad antiquities museum and the national library and all those dead people back?

Perhaps Saddam did have lots of WMDs, and perhaps the United States will find them. Not a day goes by, it seems, without a front-page announcement of their discovery that is retracted, on page B18, the next morning. Meanwhile, as David Corn reports on page 11, the hunt for WMDs is hardly proceeding with the seriousness and singlemindedness one might expect, given how impatient Bush was with poor Hans Blix. After all, if they are out there and we don't find them quick, then someone else—a Baath party loyalist, a renegade scientist, Al Qaeda—might get hold of them. Oh, but I'm forgetting—they're in Syria.

It's now sport to mock the antiwar movement for predicting that the invasion would be a catastrophe, with huge casualties on both sides, millions displaced and the Middle East in flames. Fortunately, the worst did not happen. But the antiwar movement was right about the war being unnecessary for our own security: As the twenty-six-day "cakewalk" to Baghdad demonstrated, the moth-eaten Baathist regime, with its poorly equipped soldiers and unenthusiastic citizenry, was in no shape to threaten the United States or cause world turmoil. That should be properly acknowledged, discussed and debated, not waved away, in the rush of victory, as a mere detail.

We're not supposed to compare Iraq to Vietnam—this is not, repeat, not, your father's quagmire!—but how's this for a similarity? If Saddam's dangerousness was a pretext, a way to win popular support by spreading fear, those insistent charges of WMD possession start looking rather like the manufactured Gulf of Tonkin incident. Is it OK for the government to lie as long as things go well?

As the Administration begins the project of nation-building that Bush the candidate said he wanted to avoid as President, Iraqi "regime change" is presented as if it will be as easy a cakewalk as the war itself. The neoconservatives point to the encouraging examples of Japan and Germany post–World War II. But Afghanistan is a more relevant case, since it is a project of this very Administration. There, a mere seventeen months after overthrowing the Taliban and installing the genial Hamid Karzai as head of a warlord-heavy central government, the United States no longer talks about turning Afghanistan into a modern country run on democratic principles. In Bush's initial proposed budget, he allotted no money for Afghanistan—none.

Iraq, we are told, is a different story: It has a large educated middle class and a modern infrastructure; it has all that oil. But it also has a lot of angry people. As soon as Iraqis could demonstrate, they carried placards that read, NO TO SADDAM, NO TO AMERICA, YES TO ISLAM. I'm just guessing, but those million Shiite pilgrims flogging themselves bloody on the road to Karbala might not be so enthusiastic about the Iraqi National Congress, or modern roles for women, or the values of the Enlightenment as interpreted by *The Weekly Standard*. One day Jay Garner says Iraqis will run their country themselves, the next day Donald Rumsfeld says that under no circumstances will Iraq become an Iranian-style Islamic fundamentalist state. So what happens if that's what the majority of Iraqis want?

It would be strange indeed if "regime change" means replacing tyranny with theocracy, but the pitiful number of Iraqi women involved in official gatherings to set up the transitional government is a bad sign. Meanwhile, the United States seems to be doing everything possible to infuriate and alienate the Iraqi people: In Faluja, near Baghdad, soldiers shot into a crowd of anti-American demonstrators, killing thirteen and wounding seventy-five; at the next day's demonstrations, they killed two more.

In a column from February 12, when he still had his doubts, Friedman compared invasion to having to buy what you bust at a pottery store: "We break Iraq, we own Iraq." If ownership turns out to be less exhilarating than the war looked on Fox, if it's expensive, dangerous and unrewarding, will the American people hold the Bush Administration accountable for saying "WMD" when they meant "regime change" all along? Or will we be too busy cakewalking our way to Damascus and Teheran? ■

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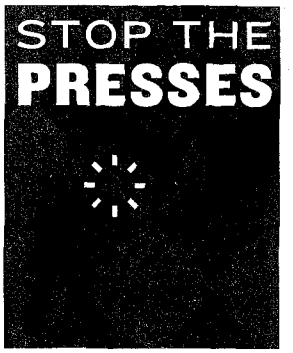
ERIC ALTERMAN

Stand and Fight



Compare the following two statements currently floating 'round the blogosphere:

"I'm saddened, saddened that this President failed so miserably at diplomacy that we're now forced to war. Saddened that we have to give up one life because this President couldn't create the kind of diplomatic effort that was so critical for our country." (Tom Daschle, March 18)

"The last seven months have involved six months of diplomatic failure and one month of military success. The first days after military victory indicate the pattern of diplomatic failure is beginning once again and threatens to undo the effects of military victory." (Newt Gingrich, April 22)

Here's what happened following Senator Daschle's comments: Republican Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert issued a statement saying that they "may not undermine the President as he leads us into war and they may not comfort our adversaries, but they come mighty close." Republican National Committee chairman Marc Racicot termed them "divisive and brazen political posturing" and said it was "disheartening and shameful" that the Senate minority leader would "blame America first." Senate majority leader Bill Frist added that he considered the remarks to be "deeply disappointing," even "irresponsible." Daschle's likely opponent for re-election, former Representative John Thune, tried his hand at wit, observing that Daschle sounded like he came "from the south of France, not from South Dakota."

These Republican attack dogs are not merely the primary shareholders of a political party. They are also the proprietors of much of the cable-television/talk-radio universe, where their comments were faithfully rehearsed. From stage far right, as if on cue, Fox's Sean Hannity called Daschle's remarks "disgraceful." Fox's idea of a liberal, Morton Kondracke, called them "totally unconscionable." Fox's idea of a moderate, Bill O'Reilly, announced, "The South Dakota senator finds himself in the same position as Trent Lott. His credibility is finished." Fox fellow-traveler (and frequent Republican funder) Lou Dobbs, speaking on CNN, intoned, "Senator Daschle has every reason to be saddened, but by his own words and deeds."

Things got so bad for Daschle, and the media voices in his defense were so few and far between, that his re-election committee felt compelled to send out a mass e-mail (later reprinted in *Salon*) begging supporters to "take the time to defend Senator Daschle from his critics." "Please speak out," the authors pleaded.

Here's what happened after Newt Gingrich made his comments: Nothing.

Well, not exactly nothing: Conservative pundits Frank Gaffney and Ramesh Ponnuru wrote columns praising Gingrich's remarks in *National Review*, joining his attack on Colin Powell and the chorus of other attacks on the Secretary of State that regularly appear in *The Weekly Standard*, *The New Republic* and elsewhere in the increasingly conservative opinion media. (Although many saw the latest round of Powell-bashing as the symptom of an even more ambitious power-grab by Donald Rumsfeld and his neocon cadres, the White House soon went on record disapproving of the vitriol, and that was that. The attacks on Powell ended, at least for now.)

L'affaire Daschle/Gingrich is just exhibit A of how our politics are now being driven by a toxic combination of jingoism, self-righteousness and nearly divine faith in the rectitude of a President who has cast off the traditional strictures of consensus politics in favor of a no-holds-barred assault on those who stand in the way of his extremist agenda. To question the path of the President is to invite immediate accusations of naïveté at best, disloyalty at worst—and most often both.

I had the opportunity to meet with a group of Democratic senators recently to brief them on my book *What Liberal Media?*, and while they were enormously concerned about the never-ending avalanche of slime thrown their way by this conservative perpetual-motion machine, I don't think I am breaking any press-stopping news when I report that they don't have a clue how to handle it.

What is to be done? Well, plenty, in the long run. But in the short run, how about at least fighting back? Senator John Kerry performed a salutary service for his team recently when he refused to apologize despite finding himself at the wrong end of the conservative Republican rifle range. Seeking, perhaps, to cop a bit of whatever the Dean campaign is smoking, the former war hero made the point (frequently heard at antiwar demos) that the United States could do with some of that "regime change" that Dr. Wolfowitz had prescribed for the Iraqis. "What we need now is not just a regime change in Saddam Hussein and Iraq, but we need a regime change in the United States," Kerry said.

Of course, Kerry was speaking somewhat tongue-in-cheek, and his point was simply to argue that he—or one of his Democratic colleagues—would make a better President than Bush. Well, Kerry got much the same treatment as Daschle from Republican Party leaders. Hastert and Frist attacked, with the latter saying Kerry's "petty, partisan insults launched solely for personal political gain are highly inappropriate at a time when American men and women are in harm's way," while House majority leader Tom DeLay termed Kerry's words "desperate and inappropriate." An unnamed Bush adviser got clever as well: "He looks French" was the word from the White House. Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post* weighed in with the eloquent, "What a jerk."

But Kerry showed how this kind of thing might be taken on, without apology or concession. "I don't need any lessons in patriotism or in caring about America," the famed Vietnam vet told his fellow Democrats at an Atlanta dinner. "We're fighting for the rights of Americans." The funny thing about many Americans is they don't care what you stand for, as long as you stand for something. Kerry's on the right track. The cable networks, the talk-radio shows, the national newspapers, the whole echo-chamber gives the far-right an unmatchable advantage in public debate. All the Democrats have going for them these days are the issues—if only they would stand up for a few of them. ■

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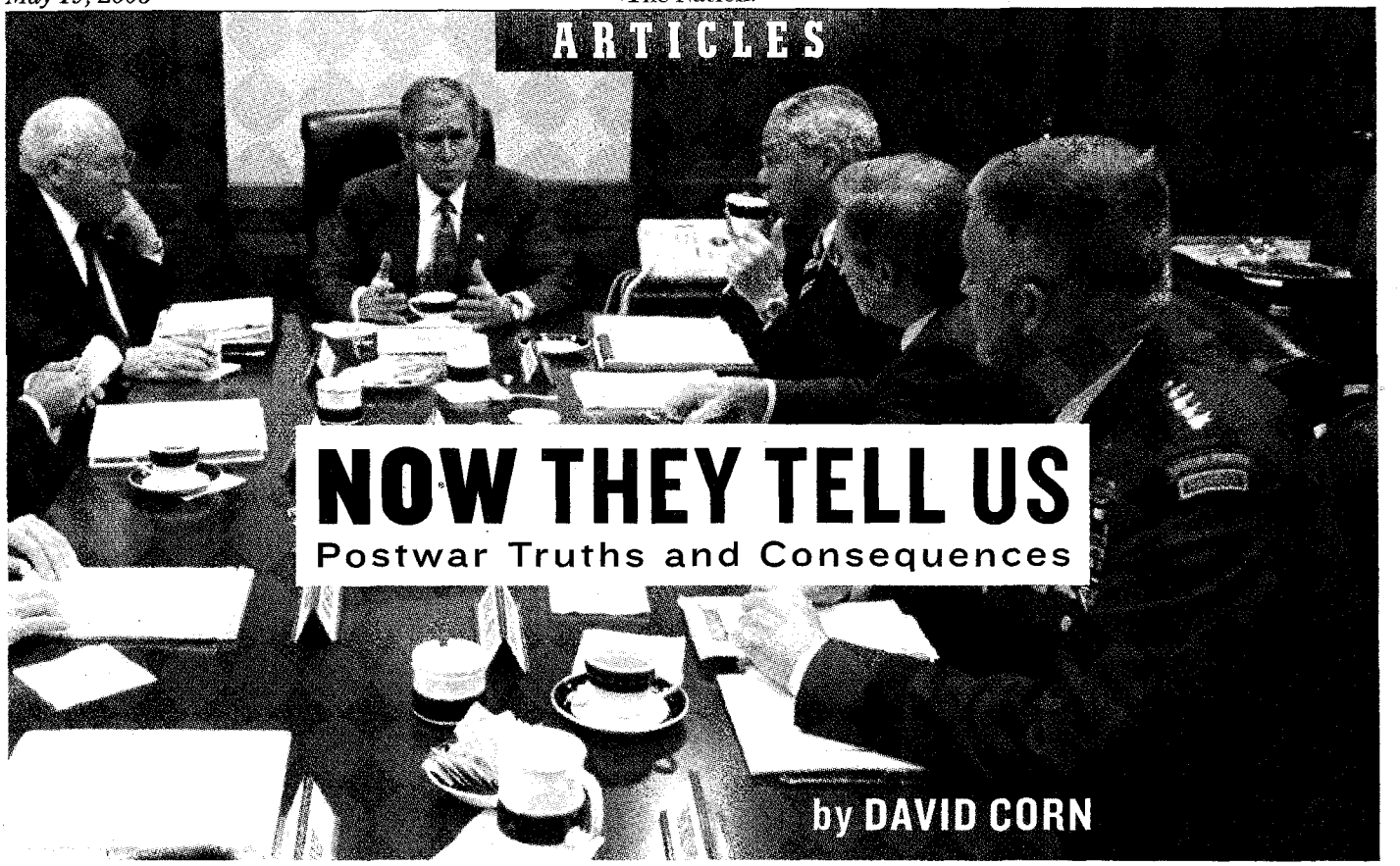

NOW THEY TELL US

Postwar Truths and Consequences

by DAVID CORN

My fellow Americans, there may be threatening amounts of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. There may not be. We're not sure. And if they are there, it may take weeks after military victory before we can launch a major effort to find and secure them. By then, they could be gone—that is, if they were there in the first place—perhaps in the hands of people who mean us harm. And after we defeat Iraq's brutal regime, the people of Iraq will welcome US troops as liberators. Then again, within days, many of them could be shouting, "Yankee, go home" and calling for a new government dominated by fundamentalist religious leaders. We don't know. Nor do we really know the extent of any operational links between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda—if such things exist. Still, I believe the potential risk posed by Saddam Hussein is so great that we cannot let what we do not know to stand in the way of decisive action. We cannot afford to guess wrong. With that in mind, I have ordered...

With Baghdad conquered, the fog of prewar has started to clear. And it now seems that had the Bush Administration been honest with the American public (and the world), its on-to-war pronouncements would have resembled the imaginary sequence above. Instead, Bush and his national security team—including ex officio members deployed in think tank bunkers and op-ed command centers—declared, without question or pause, that Iraq had dangerous levels of weapons of mass destruction and that it was "urgent," as Bush said, to find and destroy these weapons. They also talked about birthing a democratic government in Iraq without acknowledging obstacles and potential traps. But, it turns out, the Administration was not on the level. Moreover, it was woefully unready to deal with the consequences of military victory.

Though Bush and other war cheerleaders had spoken of liberating Iraq, their main argument concerned the threat posed by Saddam Hussein. The reason he was such an immediate danger, they said, was that he had these awful weapons and could, as Bush breathlessly noted, slip them to anti-American terrorists at any moment. Yet once US troops were in Iraq, the Bush Administration and the Pentagon adopted a rather lackadaisical approach to locating and securing such weapons. Weeks after the April 9 fall of Baghdad, the Pentagon was still in the process of assembling a survey team of 1,000 experts to search for chemical and biological weapons and signs of a nuclear weapons program. Why had this force not been ready to roll at the war's start?

During an April 17 press briefing, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld said, "I don't think we'll discover anything, myself. I think what will happen is we'll discover people who will tell us where to go find it. It is not like a treasure hunt, where you just run around looking everywhere, hoping you find something.... The inspectors didn't find anything, and I doubt that we will." Imagine if Rumsfeld had said that before the war: We're invading another country to eliminate its weapons of mass destruction, but we won't find them unless people there tell us where they are.

Bush had maintained that Saddam Hussein was a danger partly because he was close to possessing nuclear weapons. The US military, though, did not bother to visit Iraq's number-one nuclear site. A *Washington Post* story noted that before the war the vast Tuwaitha Nuclear Research Center held about 4,000 pounds of partially enriched uranium and more than ninety-four tons of natural uranium, as well as radioactive cesium, cobalt and strontium. This is stuff that would be valuable to people seeking to enrich uranium into weapons-grade material or merely interested in constructing a dirty bomb. Yet, the paper reported, "Defense

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officials acknowledge that the US government has no idea whether any of Tuwaitha's potentially deadly contents have been stolen, because it has not dispatched investigations to appraise the site. What it does know, according to officials at the Pentagon and US Central Command, is that the sprawling campus, 11 miles south of Baghdad, lay unguarded for days and that looters made their way inside."

Most of the facilities suspected of being used to manufacture or store chemical and biological weapons have also gone unexamined. On April 28 British Prime Minister Tony Blair said, "We started off, I think, with around about almost 150 sites [to search] and we were beginning to look at seven of them. Actually, the sites that we have got as the result of information now is closer to 1,000.... We have looked at many of those, but nothing like a majority of them." Days earlier, Judith Miller, a *New York Times* reporter embedded with one of four specialized military teams looking for WMD, noted (low in the story) that "two of the four mobile teams originally assigned to search for unconventional weapons have since been reassigned to investigate war crimes or sites unrelated to weapons." Sure, war crimes are important. But more so than finding weapons that can kill thousands and that happened to be the basis for the invasion and occupation?

Tony Blair says we can 'take our time' in investigating WMD. Take our time? Wasn't the point that we couldn't wait one week longer?

Toward the end of April, Administration officials, speaking off the record, were telling journalists it was possible none of these terrible weapons will be found. Nothing had even been located at the sites the Secretary of State cited in his crucial briefing to the UN Security Council in February. Only about 150 actual WMD-seekers were then even at work within Iraq—and some were complaining they were short on vehicles, radios and encryption systems. Gen. Tommy Franks, commander of allied forces in the Persian Gulf, said the search process would take months and probably involve "several thousand sites."

At any moment, US forces may find convincing evidence of chemical or biological weapons—which undoubtedly will stir rousing cheers of we-told-you-so from war backers. But that won't be enough. War was waged—so Bush and others said—to prevent Iraq's WMD from being transferred to people and groups who would use them against Americans. But the war plan included no schemes to prevent that from occurring. This was a dereliction of duty. Looters beat the United States to Iraq's nuclear facility. If Iraq had WMD, if Al Qaeda types were in Baghdad, and if these terrorists were seeking weapons of mass destruction in Iraq—the fundamental claims made by the Administration—then there is a good chance the nightmare scenario Bush & Co. exploited to win support for their war has already come true.

Why is Richard Perle not screaming about this from the roof of his French vacation house? Blair, for one, practically sounds bored with the topic of WMD. "Our first priority," he recently said, "has got to be to stabilize the country, the second is the humanitarian situation, and the third—and we can take our time about this and so we should—is to make sure that we investigate the weapons of mass destruction." Take our time? Wasn't the point that the United States and Britain could not wait one week longer before invading because it was necessary to neutralize the threat from these weapons?

So now they tell us. The Pentagon was not ready to go with an extensive WMD search-and-secure mission, and, after the war, there is no need to rush. And by the way, there might not be *any* WMD to show for all the effort.

The Administration was also unprepared—and disingenuous—regarding another purported aim of the war: bringing democracy to Iraq. In many cities, postwar dancing in the street quickly turned to stomping in the street, as Muslim clerics moved to gather political strength. But the rise of Shiite Power was not part of Bush's Iraq plan. Again, the *Washington Post*: "As Iraqi Shiite demands for a dominant role in Iraq's future mount, Bush administration officials say they underestimated the Shiites' organizational strength and are unprepared to prevent the rise of an anti-American, Islamic fundamentalist government in the country." But this was hardly an unforeseeable event. "Nobody who knows anything about Shiites and Iraq are surprised by this," says Judith Kipper, director of the Middle East Forum. "There were people in the government who knew this. But they were on the desks, not in the room where decisions were made." Joseph Wilson, the last acting ambassador in Iraq, notes, "The Shiites always had aspirations. And the clerics have a constituency, an organization, a pulpit, an agenda, ambition and a trained militia. What else do you need?"

The Administration had a challenge for which it had not "wargamed." Did no one in the decision loop remember Algeria in 1991? That year a fundamentalist party that wanted to establish an Islamic state won national elections, and the military then waged a coup to prevent the party from assuming power. US officials have been saying the Iraqi people are free to plot their own government, yet Rumsfeld has declared that an Iran-style government is not an option. What if a majority of voters want something more Iran-like than USA-like?

Such knotty matters were not covered by Bush and his aides in their prewar speeches, which raised the rosy prospect of a domino effect spreading democracy from postwar Iraq to other states in the region. Nor did they address the difficulties of providing security to postwar Iraq. In fact, when Gen. Eric Shinseki, the Army Chief of Staff, testified in February that this could require 100,000 or more troops, Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz dismissed him as being "wildly off the mark."

But the war showed that the Administration and the Pentagon were not committed to effective postwar security. The national museum trashed, the widespread looting—Rumsfeld wouldn't even voice regrets about such events. These developments also were not predicted, even by the Pentagon, which decided to ignore such messy contingencies. "Months before the invasion of Iraq," the *Washington Post* reported in mid-April, "Pentagon war planners anticipated the fall of Saddam Hussein would usher in a period of chaos and lawlessness, but for military reasons, they chose to field a light, fleet invasion force that could not hope to quell such unrest when it emerged, Pentagon officials said." Was the public ever informed that US troops would rush to guard the

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oil ministry in Baghdad but not the three dozen hospitals in the city—even though Bush had promised in a prewar speech that "we will deliver medicine to the sick"? (He just didn't say when.) And one more dropped ball: As of late April, the Administration had not released a plan for overseeing Iraq's oil industry.

Another now-they-tell-us jolt has been the cost of the war. Before the invasion, Administration officials were fiercely tight-lipped, refusing even to hazard a guess in public (as if they couldn't even begin to estimate). In past weeks, the cost projections have ranged as high as $20 billion a year for a to-be-determined number of years. Despite Bush's prewar pledge of "a sustained commitment" to Iraq, some US officials talk of a sooner-rather-than-later pullout. Of course, that may conflict with the Administration's desire to have a friendly government in Baghdad. Occupations can be confusing. But weren't we informed of that? Actually, no.

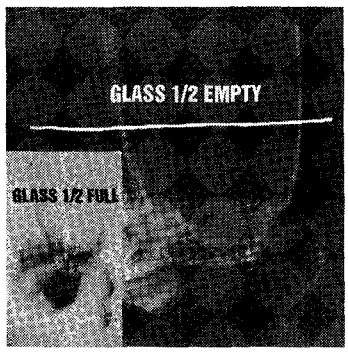
Loose chemical and biological weapons. Nuclear material up for grabs. When-we-have-time WMD inspections. Those restive Shiites. Twenty billion bucks a year. None of this made it into Bush's prewar disclosure statement. War backers can—and will—argue that the outcome was worth the costs and the chaos. Indeed, the murderous Hussein is out; the Iraqi people are fortunately no longer at his mercy. Yet this was liberation by deceit and misrepresentation, and the scent of fraud hangs in the air. It's a swindle that, for the time being, benefited Iraqis but that undermined debate and democracy at home. And with projecting American power still a priority for Bush and his crew, a question lingers: What else are they not telling us? ■

HOW THE BUSH REGIME IS EFFECTING THE TRANSFORMATION TO A FASCIST-LIKE STATE.

Inverted Totalitarianism

SHELDON WOLIN

The war on Iraq has so monopolized public attention as to obscure the regime change taking place in the Homeland. We may have invaded Iraq to bring in democracy and bring down a totalitarian regime, but in the process our own system may be moving closer to the latter and further weakening the former. The change has been intimated by the sudden popularity of two political terms rarely applied earlier to the American political system. "Empire" and "superpower" both suggest that a new system of power, concentrated and expansive, has come into existence and supplanted the old terms. "Empire" and "superpower" accurately symbolize the projection of American power abroad, but for that reason they obscure the internal consequences. Consider how odd it would sound if we were to refer to "the Constitution of the American Empire" or "superpower democracy." The reason they ring false is that "constitution" signifies limitations on power, while "democracy" commonly refers to the active involvement of citizens with their government and the responsiveness of government to its citizens. For their part, "empire" and "superpower" stand for the surpassing of limits and the dwarfing of the citizenry.



BENITA RAPHAN

The increasing power of the state and the declining power of institutions intended to control it has been in the making for some time. The party system is a notorious example. The Republicans have emerged as a unique phenomenon in American history of a fervently doctrinal party, zealous, ruthless, antidemocratic and boasting a near majority. As Republicans have become more ideologically intolerant, the Democrats have shrugged off the liberal label and their critical reform-minded constituencies to embrace centrism and footnote the end of ideology. In ceasing to be a genuine opposition party the Democrats have smoothed the road to power of a party more than eager to use it to promote empire abroad and corporate power at home. Bear in mind that a ruthless, ideologically driven party with a mass base was a crucial element in all of the twentieth-century regimes seeking total power.

Representative institutions no longer represent voters. Instead, they have been short-circuited, steadily corrupted by an institutionalized system of bribery that renders them responsive to powerful interest groups whose constituencies are the major corporations and wealthiest Americans. The courts, in turn, when they are not increasingly handmaidens of corporate power, are consistently deferential to the claims of national security. Elections have become heavily subsidized non-events that typically attract at best merely half of an electorate whose information about foreign and domestic politics is filtered through corporate-dominated media. Citizens are manipulated into a nervous state by the media's reports of rampant crime and terrorist networks, by thinly veiled threats of the Attorney General and by their own fears about unemployment. What is crucially important here is not only the expansion of governmental power but the inevitable discrediting of constitutional limitations and institutional processes that discourages the citizenry and leaves them politically apathetic.

No doubt these remarks will be dismissed by some as alarmist, but I want to go further and name the emergent political system "inverted totalitarianism." By inverted I mean that while the current system and its operatives share with Nazism the aspiration toward unlimited power and aggressive expansionism, their methods and actions seem upside down. For example, in

Sheldon Wolin is the author, most recently, of Alexis de Tocqueville: Man Between Two Worlds *(Princeton). A new edition of his book* Politics and Vision *is forthcoming. He is professor emeritus of politics at Princeton University.*

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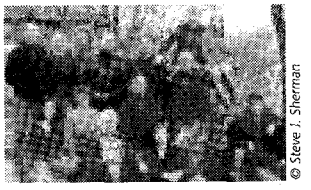

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Weimar Germany, before the Nazis took power, the "streets" were dominated by totalitarian-oriented gangs of toughs, and whatever there was of democracy was confined to the government. In the United States, however, it is the streets where democracy is most alive—while the real danger lies with an increasingly unbridled government.

Or another example of the inversion: Under Nazi rule there was never any doubt about "big business" being subordinated to the political regime. In the United States, however, it has been apparent for decades that corporate power has become so predominant in the political establishment, particularly in the Republican Party, and so dominant in its influence over policy, as to suggest a role inversion the exact opposite of the Nazis'. At the same time, it is corporate power, as the representative of the dynamic of capitalism and of the ever-expanding power made available by the integration of science and technology with the structure of capitalism, that produces the totalizing drive that, under the Nazis, was supplied by ideological notions such as *Lebensraum*.

In rebuttal it will be said that there is no domestic equivalent to the Nazi regime of torture, concentration camps or other instruments of terror. But we should remember that for the most part, Nazi terror was not applied to the population generally; rather, the aim was to promote a certain type of shadowy fear—rumors of torture—that would aid in managing and manipulating the populace. Stated positively, the Nazis wanted a mobilized society eager to support endless warfare, expansion and sacrifice for the nation.

While the Nazi totalitarianism strove to give the masses a sense of collective power and strength, *Kraft durch Freude* ("Strength through joy"), inverted totalitarianism promotes a sense of weakness, of collective futility. While the Nazis wanted a continuously mobilized society that would not only support the regime without complaint and enthusiastically vote "yes" at the periodic plebiscites, inverted totalitarianism wants a politically demobilized society that hardly votes at all. Recall the President's words immediately after the horrendous events of September 11: "Unite, consume and fly," he told the anxious citizenry. Having assimilated terrorism to a "war," he avoided doing what democratic leaders customarily do during wartime: mobilize the citizenry, warn it of impending sacrifices and exhort all citizens to join the "war effort." Instead, inverted totalitarianism has its own means of promoting generalized fear; not only by sudden "alerts" and periodic announcements about recently discovered terrorist cells or the arrest of shadowy figures or the publicized heavy-handed treatment of aliens and the Devil's Island that is Guantánamo Bay or the sudden fascination with interrogation methods that employ or border on torture, but by a pervasive atmosphere of fear abetted by a corporate economy of ruthless downsizing, withdrawal or reduction of pension and health benefits; a corporate political system that relentlessly threatens to privatize Social Security and the modest health benefits available, especially to the poor. With such instrumentalities for promoting uncertainty and dependence, it is almost overkill for inverted totalitarianism to employ a system of criminal justice that is punitive in the extreme, relishes the death penalty and is consistently biased against the powerless.

Thus the elements are in place: a weak legislative body, a legal system that is both compliant and repressive, a party system in which one party, whether in opposition or in the majority,

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is bent upon reconstituting the existing system so as to permanently favor a ruling class of the wealthy, the well-connected and the corporate, while leaving the poorer citizens with a sense of helplessness and political despair, and, at the same time, keeping the middle classes dangling between fear of unemployment and expectations of fantastic rewards once the new economy recovers. That scheme is abetted by a sycophantic and increasingly concentrated media; by the integration of universities with their corporate benefactors; by a propaganda machine institutionalized in well-funded think tanks and conservative foundations; by the increasingly closer cooperation between local police and national law enforcement agencies aimed at identifying terrorists, suspicious aliens and domestic dissidents.

What is at stake, then, is nothing less than the attempted transformation of a tolerably free society into a variant of the extreme regimes of the past century. In that context, the national elections of 2004 represent a crisis in its original meaning, a turning point. The question for citizens is: Which way? ■

FRESHLY UNEARTHED DOCUMENTS MAY FORCE THE AFL-CIO TO FACE UP TO PAST BETRAYALS.

Labor's Cold War

TIM SHORROCK

In the months before President Bush invaded Iraq, thousands of trade unionists joined the massive protests that filled the nation's streets. Their ranks swelled when the AFL-CIO, for the first time in its history, openly challenged a US decision to go to war and charged that Bush's unilateralist policies had "squandered" the global solidarity that America enjoyed after September 11, 2001. Once the invasion began, AFL-CIO president John Sweeney did shift his antiwar stance, declaring that the federation would "support fully" Bush's war goals. But he also acknowledged the right of "people of good conscience and good faith" to express opposition. Those events, and Sweeney's respectful recognition of the splits in his ranks, marked a major watershed in US labor history—and could serve as a long overdue coda to the events of another September 11, thirty years ago, that still inspire raging debates about labor's role in US foreign policy.

SCOTT MENCHIN

That September 11, in 1973, was the day Chilean President Salvador Allende was overthrown in a bloody military coup that ended a brief experiment in democratic socialism and took the lives of Allende and thousands of Chilean workers, students and political activists. Today, many trade unionists remain haunted by the knowledge that their own federation, the AFL-CIO, played a key role in the US campaign, led by the Nixon Administration and the Central Intelligence Agency, to destabilize Chile in the years before the coup. From 1971 to 1973, the AFL-CIO's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), one of four US-government-funded labor institutes created during the cold war, channeled millions of dollars to right-wing unions and political parties opposed to Allende's socialist agenda. That aid helped finance the revolt by Chile's professional class and fanned the flames of social unrest that provided the pretext for Gen. Augusto Pinochet's violent crackdown and the justification for his seventeen-year dictatorship.

According to documents I've unearthed in the AFL-CIO's archives, AIFLD's program in Chile was closely coordinated with the US Embassy and dovetailed with one of the CIA's key aims in Chile: to split the Chilean labor movement and create a trade union base of opposition to Allende, who was viewed as dangerously anti-American and a pawn of the Soviet Union. The campaign's political agenda was summarized in a 1972 cable in the archives from Robert O'Neill, AIFLD's representative in Chile, to AFL-CIO headquarters in Washington. Chile, O'Neill proudly told his superiors, had become the site of "the first large-scale middle class movement against government attempts to impose, slowly but surely, a Marxist-Leninist system."

Over the past two years, a coalition of grassroots West Coast labor activists has been seeking to use those archives to spark a discussion about the AFL-CIO's cold war past, when AIFLD and its sister institutes in Asia, Africa and Eastern Europe served as labor's spearhead in the US wars against Communism and left-wing liberation struggles. AIFLD's actions in Chile, Brazil and other countries, activists say, blackened the name of the AFL-CIO among the very people to whom American unions have been reaching out in recent years to build a movement for peace and economic justice.

Questions about the past have mingled with concerns about the AFL-CIO's current activities abroad, such as its financial support for the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV), which is allied with Venezuela's business elite in a bitter campaign to topple the leftist government of President Hugo Chávez. Initially, the AFL-CIO's program in Venezuela was financed with a $150,000 grant from the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which was created by Congress to support pro-US democratic movements abroad, and came to light last spring, shortly after Chavez was briefly overthrown in a military coup initially backed by the Bush Administration. To a few critics, the incident resembled the interventionist days of old—a comparison hotly denied by the AFL-CIO.

Tim Shorrock (tshorrock51@hotmail.com) is an investigative journalist based in Silver Spring, Maryland. *Research support was provided by the Investigative Fund of the Public Concern Foundation. He thanks Fred Hirsch for his help in interpreting the AFL-CIO files on Chile.*

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In response, labor councils on the West Coast have been pressing the AFL-CIO leadership to "come clean" about the past and set the course for the future by fully opening its archives—including materials from the Reagan era that remain off-limits to researchers—and creating a truth commission to analyze and publicize their contents. The strongest resolutions, passed in 2000 by the San Francisco and South Bay labor councils in California and in 2001 by the Washington State AFL-CIO, asked the federation to "renounce" what it did in Chile and elsewhere in labor's name, and allow union members and independent researchers to make a full accounting of the past. Last July the California Labor Federation put the weight of its 2 million members behind the effort with a resolution asking the AFL-CIO to open a dialogue about its government-funded foreign affairs activities, past and present, and "affirm a policy of genuine global solidarity in pursuit of economic and social justice."

Ultimately, the West Coast activists want to force the AFL-CIO to draw a clear line between the cold war policies of George Meany and Lane Kirkland and the new directions in foreign policy it has started to map through its opposition to the Iraq war and Bush's pro-business economic agenda. "To counter corporate globalization, we need labor globalization," said Fred Hirsch, the vice president of Plumbers and Fitters Local 393 in San Jose, who played an instrumental role in getting the "clear the air" resolution before the California federation. "But we can't embark on a path of genuine solidarity, nor can labor unions overseas trust us, until we own up to the past and divorce ourselves from those actions and the government funding which made us a pawn of US foreign policy." Yet ten months after the California resolution, Sweeney has yet to set a date for a formal meeting with the state federation.

Sweeney was elected AFL-CIO president in 1995 with the support of a broad coalition of union leaders who broke with Kirkland over foreign policy—particularly AIFLD's support for US policy in Central America—believing that the old guard's belligerent anti-Communism had become a dangerous anachronism. After taking office, Sweeney reorganized the four labor foreign policy institutes into a single organization, the American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS) and forced several of the AFL-CIO's most notorious cold warriors into retirement. The new center has refocused its mission on global solidarity and the right to organize. In Venezuela, ACILS insists, the US government money has helped the CTV build grassroots democracy and protect freedom of association.

Barbara Shailor, the AFL-CIO's director of international affairs, told *The Nation* that the federation is eager to begin a dialogue with the California unions. "We won't ignore questions about the past, but we're really going to focus on what we're doing now—organizing opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas and responding to the corporate governance meltdown," she said. But Shailor would not comment on the activities or policies of Sweeney's predecessors. Nor would she or her staff discuss what's in the AFL-CIO's international archives, which are stored, along with thousands of other documents from various AFL-CIO departments, at the George Meany Center for Labor Studies in Silver Spring, Maryland.

Under the archives' rules, documents can only be released twenty years after their creation, which means that the newest documents, given staff time for processing, date back to the late 1970s. Material about controversial AFL-CIO activities during the 1980s—such as AIFLD's support for the Nicaraguan *contras* and labor cooperation with US-backed counterinsurgencies in El Salvador and the Philippines—remains classified under the twenty-year rule. When I asked Shailor if the federation would consider speeding up the release of that material or requesting classified documents from US agencies that funded the institutes in order to provide the full story of labor's cold war, she deferred the question to Michael Merrill, director of the archives. Merrill said there is "no consistent policy on what to do when someone wants to open the books sooner." Any request to shorten the current twenty-year waiting period, he added, would have to be approved by the senior leadership of the AFL-CIO.

Reading through the documents, it's impossible to avoid the conclusion that the AFL-CIO was a willing handmaiden for the Pentagon.

Over the past year, I've read hundreds of pages of newly released documents in the archives. Reading through the letters, policy papers, memos, newspaper clippings and declassified diplomatic cables in the files, it's impossible to avoid the conclusion that the AFL-CIO and its institutes were, in a few egregious cases, willing handmaidens for the Pentagon and US multinational corporations as they imposed their will on US allies and developing countries. Nowhere was that clearer than in Chile.

Collaboration in Chile

Salvador Allende was elected Chile's president in September 1970, and his Popular Unity government took office in November. Around that time, a secret group within the Nixon Administration directed the CIA to conduct a campaign of destabilization and sabotage designed, in Nixon's unforgettable words, to "make the economy scream." The archives contain no smoking gun directly linking the American Institute for Free Labor Development with the CIA. But they confirm that the AFL-CIO's program synchronized closely with the CIA's plan to create social unrest by sowing divisions within the labor movement and financing middle-class and professional organizations—known as *gremio*—that led the opposition to Allende's populist program.

AIFLD's primary target was the 1-million-member Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT), Chile's largest labor federation. It was led during the Allende years by a Communist, Luis Figueroa, whom Allende appointed labor minister in 1972. The campaign to divide the CUT began in earnest in the spring of 1971, after Allende had strengthened his governing coalition in municipal elections. In response, AIFLD, in consultation with US diplomats and the Agency for International Development (AID), became more aggressive in seeking to expand US influence inside the CUT. That shift was made "with the full support of the Embassy and AID" and involved "the establishment of a dialogue between ourselves and the non-communist Allendista trade unionists," Jesse Friedman, AIFLD's regional director for South America, explained to Andrew McLellan, the AFL-CIO's director for inter-American affairs. Under the plan, Friedman

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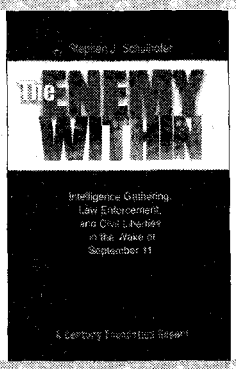
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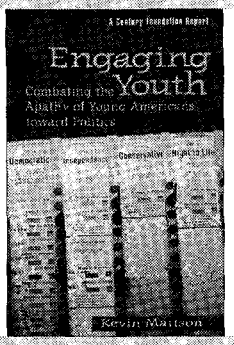

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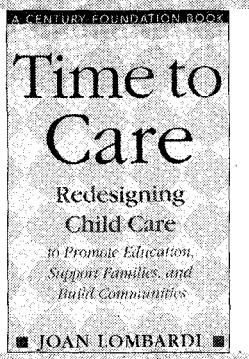
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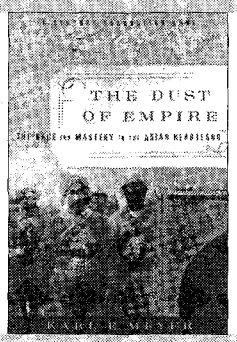

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wrote, AIFLD would invite "influential leaders" from selected unions to Washington to show them "that they have been misled in the formation of their concept of the United States."

Robert O'Neill, AIFLD's representative in Santiago, was enthusiastic, pointing out that US visits by Chilean unionists were the only way that AIFLD's allies "can grow and eventually *control* the trade union movement here." (Emphasis added.) He urged other US unions to get involved because a "reinforced effort would add to the unrest." In another cable, O'Neill laid out an ambitious plan to win over workers in the strategic copper, oil, maritime, airline and banking industries so they "could initially form a block within CUT to defend their positions and eventually be the basis for a break-up of CUT." But he hastened to add that "undeniably and unfortunately, the majority of organized Chilean workers still back Marxist leadership, at least in trade union elections."

By this time, the Nixon Administration, working covertly with ITT, Kennecott Copper and other US multinationals, was deep into its campaign to weaken the Chilean economy and punish Allende for nationalizing industries in which US corporations held major stakes. In November 1972 O'Neill told McLellan that a CUT leader had approached him with a plan to unite "trade union support against multinational companies such as Kennecott." In response, he told the official that "since the movement would obviously be communist-dominated, I doubted if the AFL-CIO would publicly take a stand against Kennecott." (It never did.)

AFL-CIO affiliates hosted 'non-Communist' allies from Chile in order to help them 'eventually control the trade union movement.'

AIFLD utterly failed to make inroads into the CUT or win friends among unions striking against state-owned companies, even the copper workers, who took AIFLD by surprise when they went on strike in 1973, despite leadership by Communists supportive of the Allende government. So AIFLD's strategy began to focus instead on the growing right-wing and *gremio* movements. One of AIFLD's allies, the files show, was the National Party, a notorious right-wing political group that openly backed Pinochet's coup in 1973. In October 1972 O'Neill proposed to use AID funds to send the director of the National Party's labor department to Washington. "He is not a trade unionist in the strict sense of the word since he is a professional but he does have influence in the party structure," O'Neill noted.

In the fall of 1973, a series of strikes by truckers, doctors and shop owners paralyzed Chile, giving Pinochet the pretext to launch his coup. The strikes, which were partially funded by the CIA, were no surprise to the AFL-CIO: The last pre-coup document in the Chile files, dated May 22, 1973, shows that at least two senior AFL-CIO officials had advance knowledge of the work stoppages. Bus and truckers' unions "plan for unified strike action" in "early fall, 1973," McLellan wrote to Jay Lovestone, the apostate Communist who headed the AFL-CIO's international affairs department.

Pinochet, however, saw all unions, not just left-leaning ones, as the enemy. One of his first acts after seizing power was to outlaw the CUT. In the months following September 11, hundreds of trade unionists—including some who had worked with AIFLD—were rounded up, many never to be seen again. Figueroa managed to make his way to the Swedish Embassy, where he suffered a nervous breakdown during a monthslong stay. In a 1975 interview in Mexico, where he died several years later, he accused AIFLD of "13 years of massive social espionage."

The significance of the AFL-CIO documents becomes clear in a 1975 report by the Senate Intelligence Committee on the CIA's activity in Chile. "The scope of 'normal' activities of the CIA Station in Santiago," the committee said, included "efforts to oppose communist and left-wing influence in student, peasant and labor organizations"; the use of "'black' propaganda to sow discord between the Communists and the Socialists and between the national labor confederation and the Chilean Communist Party"; and "combating the communist-dominated [CUT]." In his final radio broadcast to the Chilean people from the besieged presidential palace, Allende thanked the Chilean "patriots who a few days ago were continuing to struggle against the revolt led by the professional unions—that is, the class unions who were trying to hold on to the advantages granted to a few of them by the capitalist society." His widow, in conversations with Hirsch and others, later identified O'Neill, AIFLD's man in Santiago, as the "number one" US intelligence operative in Chile.

The archives' Chile file for the year of the coup is remarkably thin, as are the files on Brazil following the 1964 military coup, in which AIFLD was heavily involved. Asked to explain, archive director Merrill said, "It sounds like there was a pattern of people looking through and pulling things."

One of the saddest things about the Chile files is the absence of any statement condemning Pinochet's coup. The AFL-CIO's indifference comes across in Meany's response to an October 3, 1973, telegram from Patrick Gorman, then president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters International Union, beseeching him to protest the pending execution of Luis Corvalan, one of Chile's leading Communists and a prominent member of the CUT. "A trade union leader in Chile could, with the present reactionary progress of the world, be a trade union leader of the United States tomorrow," Gorman wrote. But Meany ignored the message: At the top of the cable appears a handwritten note by Ernest Lee, his son-in-law and director of international affairs: "No response."

In August 1974, after it had become apparent that Pinochet was hellbent on destroying any semblance of democracy in Chile, the AFL-CIO executive council finally issued a statement. "Free trade unionists did not mourn the departure of a Marxist regime in Chile which brought that nation to political, social and economic ruin," the council said. "But free trade unionists cannot condone the autocratic actions of this militaristic and oppressive ruler." For Chilean workers, that was too little, too late.

A Whitewash of South Korea

From 1961 to 1979, South Korea was led by Park Chung Hee, a former general who made economic development his number-one priority and created a police state notorious for torture and long prison sentences. Some of the worst repression was directed at unions, which Park saw as a threat to economic growth and national security. The only legal union, the

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Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), was under tight government control and thoroughly penetrated by the Korean CIA (KCIA). The situation was so bad that in 1970, a young worker in Seoul committed a fiery suicide to protest conditions in the garment industry, an action that Korean activists point to as the beginning of their modern labor movement.

The AFL-CIO, despite its pledge never to support government-controlled unions, financed and supported the FKTU from 1971 until the late 1980s—with full knowledge of the government's penetration of the FKTU. In 1971 Jack Muth, regional director of the Asian American Free Labor Institute, wrote a report to his boss, AAFLI executive director Morris Paladino, about a visit to Seoul. "Undoubtedly, the US [Embassy] Mission is aware that the Korean Government keeps a close watch on the activities of the unions," Muth wrote. "Even during our visit, we were introduced to two Korean CIA agents who were attending the FKTU political seminars; they were introduced as CIA agents openly." (The toothless nature of the FKTU is underscored by a CIA study of South Korea in 1979 that I obtained last year under the Freedom of Information Act. "Union activities are restricted by law," the CIA reported. "Many labor leaders still lack credibility among the workers because they often are corrupt or have been co-opted either by management or by the government.")

In the late 1970s US religious and human rights organizations began calling attention to the appalling treatment of South Korean workers. They were particularly concerned about the brutality directed at young women laborers in the textile and garment industry, and the lack of response by the FKTU. An AFL-CIO truly concerned about workers' rights would have embraced those efforts by denouncing the repression in South Korea or severing its relationship with the FKTU. Instead, the archives show that Paladino spent much of his time railing against the churches' involvement in Korean labor affairs. At AAFLI's 1978 board meeting, for example, he complained bitterly about Korean religious activists who had come to Washington to protest "against the FKTU, alleging that women workers in South Korea are being seriously abused by their employers and the government without adequate representation by the FKTU unions." Their charges, he fretted, had sparked inquiries from US textile workers and the United Auto Workers.

At the next board meeting, in 1979, Paladino lashed out at the Urban Industrial Mission, a religious group in Seoul that provided the only support available to struggling young laborers. Financed by the World Council of Churches, the mission had offices in an industrial area of Seoul that provided a safe place where employees in Korean factories could discuss working conditions free from police spies, learn basic organizing skills and connect to the largely underground resistance to Park's dictatorship. Paladino, however, was incensed that the mission's campaigns had "resulted in the diffusion of slanted and partial information in the United States and in Europe" about South Korea and the FKTU. In response, he told his board, AAFLI has "attempted to keep the record straight and provide the facts to American affiliates of the AFL-CIO whenever requested." Paladino's goal, apparently, was to whitewash the image of one of Asia's cruelest dictatorships.

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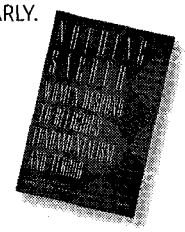

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In October 1979 Park was assassinated by the head of the Korean CIA during a revolt in the industrial city of Pusan by students and factory workers. Park's successor, Chun Doo Hwan, cracked down even harder on labor, outlawing all industrial unions and sending hundreds of church and labor activists to prison. In 1981, while Paladino was visiting Seoul, a group of garment workers seized the AAFLI office there to protest his refusal to meet with their illegal union. Police were called, and dozens of workers were injured in the ensuing melee. In a 1986 interview I conducted for *The Nation*, Paladino blamed the violence on the "different ethnic standards" of Koreans.

After military rule ended in 1986, Korean industrial workers organized the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions as an alternative to the FKTU; it wasn't officially recognized by the AFL-CIO until 1997. "Many Koreans know the truth about AAFLI and the FKTU's relationship to the KCIA," Kwon Young Gil, a third-party candidate in South Korea's recent presidential election and the first president of the KCTU, told me during a recent visit to Washington. "It's important for American trade unionists to acknowledge those facts so we can move forward to build a better relationship in the future."

Resistance in Okinawa

During the Indochina war, US bases on the island of Okinawa were used by the US military to store nuclear weapons and to launch B-52 strikes on Vietnam. This infuriated the citizens of Okinawa as well as many Japanese, sparking the political unrest that culminated in the 1972 reversion of Okinawa to Japanese control. But in 1967 and again in 1969, labor tensions in Okinawa boiled over, first after a military base workers' union known as Zengunro called a general strike to protest Okinawa's role in the war, and then when a new labor code imposed by Washington banned strikes on US bases and threatened strikers with severe punishment. The AFL-CIO became directly involved in stifling Okinawan resistance.

In April 1967 F.T. Unger, the US Army's High Commissioner in Okinawa, wrote a letter to Meany informing him that Zengunro "has veered considerably" toward the "opposition reversion movement." He asked Meany to send an AFL-CIO staffer to Okinawa because "the Zengunro leadership needs a firm yet reassuring hand to protect them from the hotheads." A year later, Meany's representative in Okinawa warned his boss of the dangers to US interests presented by the election of a prominent leader of the reversion movement—who was also a member of the local teachers' union—as Okinawa's first chief executive. Japanese leftists, he complained, were calling the election "a mandate for immediate unconditional reversion, removal of all US military bases and ultimate abrogation of the Japanese-US Mutual Security Treaty in 1970"—developments anathema to the AFL-CIO.

The general strike in February 1969 infuriated Meany and his staff, particularly because it was endorsed by Domei, the conservative Japanese labor federation aligned with the AFL-CIO. In a memo to Meany, his international affairs director, Ernest Lee, warned that the strike was "primarily against the US government authority on the island as well as US foreign policy" and "could affect our Vietnamese effort and support a communist offensive in Vietnam." Lee became livid when he learned that Victor

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Reuther, international affairs director of the UAW and one of the few labor leaders who challenged AFL-CIO foreign policy, was openly backing the Okinawa base workers. Reuther's telegram of support to Okinawa, Lee told his boss, "is one of the encouragements upon which [Japanese trade unionists] will lean" during the strike. He added, "I believe that both State and Defense should be aware of that cable." Turning in one of the country's most respected labor leaders to the Pentagon surely ranks as a low point in AFL-CIO history.

Venezuela and Beyond

Since taking control of the AFL-CIO's international programs in 1996, Shailor and her deputy for Latin America, Stan Gacek, have worked hard to transform relations with unions around the world. Last fall, Sweeney and Arturo Martinez, the president of Chile's CUT, signed a declaration urging their governments to include "enforceable obligations" on workers' rights in any free-trade agreement and rejecting the imposition of Chile's privatized social security system "on the workers of the United States." (Ironically, that pact is now threatened by US anger at Chile's refusal to vote with Bush during the UN debate on Iraq.) And a delegation of organizing directors from three US unions recently used ACILS funds to visit South Korea, where they exchanged ideas with their counterparts in the KCTU. Solidarity, in other words, has now replaced intervention as the cornerstone of labor's foreign policy.

A delegation to Venezuela found that the CTV, an AFL-CIO ally, was 'directly involved in the illegal plotting for the April coup.'

The AFL-CIO's overseas work, however, retains close government ties. ACILS obtains most of its $18-million-a-year budget from AID and the Congressionally funded NED, with some additional funds from private foundations. AID just concluded a five-year grant to ACILS of $60 million and will provide another $9 million a year for the next five years. ACILS currently has programs in twenty-eight countries, where, according to Tim Beaty, deputy director of international affairs, staffers work with overseas trade unionists "to build a better labor movement" by linking unions within the same industry and building coalitions with social movements. (The day of our interview, Beaty was coordinating meetings between US unions and a delegation of environmental activists from Taiwan trying to win compensation from RCA for the pollution it caused there before pulling out in 1992.) Proof of the AFL-CIO's independence from the government, Gacek told me, "is in the application. Can we basically follow an agenda that is not tied to any geopolitical interest other than international trade union solidarity? Without making any comments about the past, I think yes, that is something we are doing now."

But the AFL-CIO's experience with Venezuela's CTV illustrates how the line between geopolitics and solidarity can get blurred. The AFL-CIO's relationship with the CTV goes back to the 1970s, when Venezuelan unions, through their alliance with the Democratic Action Party, were for many years part of the center-right government. The archives show that the AFL-CIO and the CTV worked closely in those years to isolate Cuba and counter the influence of left-wing unions in Latin America. The labor federations were used by the US and Venezuelan governments as unofficial channels on oil. In a 1974 meeting with the CTV, for example, the AFL-CIO pointed out that "the oil pricing arrangement of OPEC and of Venezuela are wrecking the economic balance of the free world." The CTV assured Meany "that Venezuela is a secure source of supply for the United States. We are not the Middle East. We are similar people. We dress the same. We have the same unions. We have the same capitalists and the same military. When you talk with us it is not a conversation between Kissinger and the shieks [*sic*] but between brother trade unionists."

Today, the CTV and the AFL-CIO remain very close, though President Chávez has denounced the CTV and its political supporters as part of the oligarchy that is out to weaken his attempts to redistribute the country's oil wealth. To counter the CTV, Chávez encouraged the organization of a rival labor federation and refused to recognize the results of a CTV election won by former oil workers' leader Carlos Ortega. In response, Ortega built an alliance with Fedecamaras, the Venezuelan Chamber of Commerce, with the aim of toppling Chávez's government.

A year ago, they came close to that goal when a general strike they organized became the pretext for a brief military coup. When the *New York Times* revealed that NED had funded the opposition, the AFL-CIO was swamped with questions about its ties to the CTV. The AFL-CIO immediately put out a lengthy statement condemning the coup and explaining that the CTV used its US funds to fight Chávez's attempts to undermine labor rights. "There is no evidence that the CTV or its leaders went beyond the democratic expressions of discontent," the AFL-CIO concluded. In a significant break from the past, it added that Chávez's programs, including "agrarian reform and assistance to Cuba, are and should be the sole and sovereign concern of the Venezuelan people and their government." Gacek maintains today that ACILS's support for internal democracy within the CTV boosted progressive forces in Venezuela's labor movement. "We assisted a process that actually brought more of the left, and including some elements sympathetic to the admirable redistributive rhetoric of the Chávez government, to the leadership of the CTV," he said.

But with tensions still high in Venezuela, questions remain about the CTV and its tactics. Tellingly, strategic, non-Chavista unions in steel, oil and the public sector didn't support the CTV during the general strike last year. A member of a recent fact-finding delegation to Venezuela from the International Federation of Journalists wrote Gacek last summer that "the CTV was actively, directly involved in the illegal plotting for the April coup." Gacek rejected that assessment, but made it clear that the AFL-CIO was trying to defuse the situation. He is working with Brazil's new government and a "friends of Venezuela" labor group formed at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, to "bring down the temperature" in Caracas by negotiating amnesty for some of the 16,000 fired oil workers Chávez has threatened to jail. (Ortega, who was on Chávez's list, is now living in exile in Costa Rica.) Overall, said Gacek, the AFL-CIO wants Chávez to respect the "democratic rule of law" and insure that "violence and force are not employed to force regime change." Using labor

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funds to undermine a foreign government, he added forcefully, "goes against my fiber."

A Full Accounting

Today the labor movement is facing a multitude of challenges, from Bush's attacks on unions to the failing economy and the fallout from the war. Given the internal politics at the AFL-CIO, whose unity was shaken by the recent departure of the Carpenters Union, Sweeney's reluctance to embrace the "clear the air" movement is understandable. Many of the unions most closely identified with the federation's cold war policies, such as the Bricklayers and the American Federation of Teachers, fought bitterly against Sweeney's election. Sweeney himself, and several members of his executive council, were board members of AIFLD and the other institutes, and would likely be uncomfortable with a full probe of the past—as would ACILS executive director Harry Kamberis, a former Foreign Service officer who held senior positions in AAFLI during the 1980s.

Meanwhile, ideologues on the right may be seeking to revive their old labor alliances in an effort to popularize American goals in the war against terrorism around the world. Recently, American Enterprise Institute scholar Joshua Muravchik cited Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown—the godfathers of the AFL-CIO's overseas operations—as leading lights in "the war of ideas that we waged in the cold war." Those battles, he noted candidly, were fought "largely through the good offices of the CIA," but are now being "carried out overtly by US broadcasting agencies [and the] National Endowment for Democracy."

Although it is unlikely the AFL-CIO would join such a campaign, these pressures raise serious questions for labor. Can the AFL-CIO continue to work with institutions like the NED and AID and still maintain its integrity overseas? If, even in this political climate, Colin Powell can proclaim, as he did recently on Black Entertainment Television, that the US role in Allende's downfall "is not a part of American history that we're proud of," could John Sweeney finally say the same about AIFLD?

"I think every country and every institution has a right to its own history, particularly in the case of AIFLD, which was publicly funded," said Robert White, who served as US ambassador to El Salvador during one of its worst periods of repression and is now president of the Center for International Policy. During those years, White said, AIFLD "became a total instrument of US foreign policy. It seems to me that the public has a right to know." Indeed, meeting that simple demand would go a long way toward restoring the global prestige American unions enjoyed before the cold war as the folks who invented May Day, industrial unions and the eight-hour day. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
the words of the Prophet Micah, working to "beat swords into plowshares, and...spears into pruning hooks." ANDREI A. BUCKAREFF

Rome, Pa.
■ Did George W. Bush speak in code to those who believe in "final days" theology? Compare the following quotes:

> "I became thoroughly familiar with the principles of a just war, and it is clear that a...unilateral attack on Iraq does not meet these standards. This is an almost universal conviction of religious leaders, with the most notable exception of a few spokesmen of the Southern Baptist Convention who are greatly influenced by their commitment to Israel based on eschatological, or final days, theology."
> —*Jimmy Carter, March 9*

> "My fellow citizens, events in Iraq have now reached the final days of decision."
> —*George W. Bush, March 17*

ANNE VIVINO-HINTZE

Brooklyn, NY
■ Whence this convention of distinguishing the Bushes by the number of their presidency, Daddy B. as "Bush 41" and Junior B., the runt of the litter, as "Bush 43"? Makes it sound like a Bible chapter. This is a creepy little trend, and the *Nation* style guide should nip it in the bud. Much better is Bush I and Bush II, for the pluto-aristocratic pretensions of this nasty plague of a family and the recognition that American democracy is on death row. MATTHEW WILLS

West Chester, Pa.
■ I must question Randall Balmer's statistic that evangelical Christians make up approximately 46 percent of the US population. According to the *2000 CIA World Fact Book*, the US population is about 275 million, 56 percent of whom are Protestants. Doing the math, that means there are four-plus evangelical Protestants for every nonevangelical Protestant. Can that be true? BARRIE EICHHORN

BALMER REPLIES

New York City
■ The 46 percent figure occurs fairly consistently in survey data; some polls put the number even higher. It depends, of course, on how you ask the question, especially given the fact that many evangelicals wouldn't recognize themselves by that name. My own criteria for identifying evangelicals are: (1) a belief in the centrality of a conversion (or "born again") experience as the requirement for entering the kingdom of heaven; (2) a disposition to take the Bible seriously, to the point (most of them) of literal interpretation; (3) an impulse to evangelize (or proselytize), to bring others into the fold. Using that definition, I have little doubt that 46 percent of the population are evangelicals. Curiously, in my travels throughout North America, lecturing to various groups, the only people who have trouble believing that figure are in the Northeast! RANDALL BALMER

UP 'PERISCOPE' FOR THE BIG SCOOP

Jerome, Ariz.
■ Re Russ Baker's April 7 "The Big Lie": It was shortly before the first Gulf War that *Newsweek*, in one small item of its "Periscope" section, ran the story of a Soviet satellite photo of no Iraqi troops by the Saudi border when Bush I was claiming a big buildup. Often "Periscope" is where *Newsweek* seems to put the really big scoops and has for some time. MIMI CURRIER

TAKE TUMS FOR YOUR RUMMY

Longwood, Fla.
■ From what I read down here in the peninsular outpost of the Lower 48, Rummy is not only Defense Secretary de jure but also de facto Secretary of State and President. Rummy publicly defines what kind of government Iraq shall have. Dubya doesn't seem to care that he is being pre-empted, but I wonder how Colin Powell abides this invasion of his bailiwick. Your April 21 editorial says, "Rumsfeld Should Go." I would ask, How can Powell stay?
ROBERT J. HAVEL

Astoria, Ore.
■ Someone should tell Mr. Rumsfeld that "freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose," in the immortal words of Janis Joplin, as penned by Kris Kristofferson. BECKY HART SVENSEN

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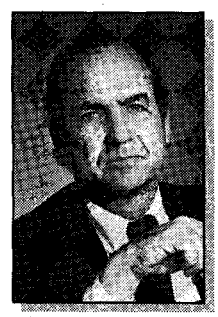

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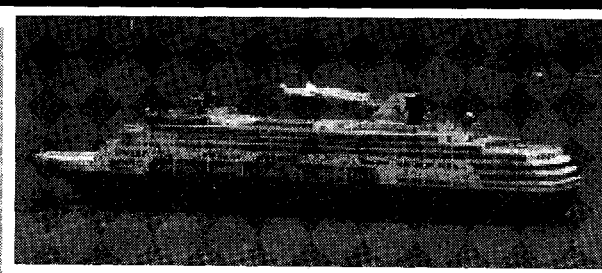

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COMMENT

(Continued From Page 7)

higher incomes. But in most states the deep resistance to new taxes means that prospects for higher education are grim. In the states, and nationally, coalitions must be built that convince state governments and Congress that our nation's public-school crisis extends beyond the twelfth grade. If that task is not accomplished, our colleges and universities will soon revert to being enclaves of the wealthy. And the big losers will be not only working-class students, many of them black and Latino, but American democracy.

STANLEY ARONOWITZ

Stanley Aronowitz is Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Urban Education at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. His latest book is How Class Works *(Yale).*

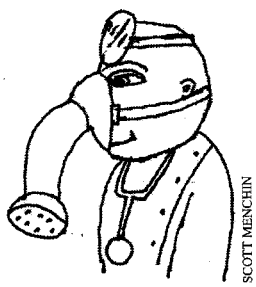
Fear and Its Discontents

In March for my online column "Ask Dr. Marc," I contacted readers to find out what the jolt of government-issued terror alerts was doing to people (www.thenation.com). I found that the fear level is fairly high—even among the antiwar set—but so is skepticism about whether these warnings are being used by the Administration to fuel support for war and civil liberties restrictions.

From New York City: If it comes to the point that the smallpox vaccine is recommended for and available to the general public, would it be wise to get vaccinated?

In a word, no—not in a pre-exposure scenario. The only smallpox vaccine approved in the United States uses a live virus that can cause brain swelling or even death for several people per million vaccinated. Those risks are well established, while the risk of an attack is merely theoretical. And if an immune-compromised person became sick from exposure to a vaccine recipient, who would be the terrorist then?

From Springdale, Pa.: If a chemical or biological weapon were used in the United States, how long would the agent persist in the environment? Would sealing windows and doors with plastic sheeting and duct tape keep the germs or chemicals out long enough for the agent to be cleaned or diluted to nonlethal levels?



SCOTT MENCHIN

Certainly, beware of a mailman in a full bodysuit and gas mask. Otherwise, I recommend going about your daily business. Chemical agents such as sarin would dissipate in minutes on their own long before they reached your duct-taped door. Even if by some unlucky miracle you were right nearby, your best bet would be to leave the area. As far as germs go, anthrax isn't contagious, smallpox spreads very slowly, and bubonic-plague infection requires fleas. Tom Ridge notwithstanding, I can't imagine a scenario where it would be essential to duct tape yourself inside a room.

From Ann Arbor, Mich.: I have heard that potassium iodide is good to have around and to take it in the event of exposure to nuclear radiation. OK, so maybe this is the equivalent of duct tape, but if it will help prevent thyroid cancer, should I try to find some? I grew up with this fear, sure wish it wasn't upon us again.

The risk of nuclear radiation reaching you in Ann Arbor from a small-scale attack or dirty bomb is very low. If we're worried about a large-scale attack, though, we should look in the mirror—we're the ones with the big weapons. Sure, if it makes you feel better to keep these items of limited value around in the event of an almost inconceivable attack, then do so. But potassium iodide would protect only your neck; better to treat your whole-body panic by going about your normal activities and concentrating on other things. Arm yourself with probabilities. Reflect on how unlikely it is that biological, chemical or nuclear weapons could be delivered here on a mass scale. Most terrorists are poor; their strongest weapon is fear, not nuclear missiles.

From San Bruno, Calif.: Assume that you could seal a 10'x20'x8' room so that it's airtight, which as a general contractor I think I can do. How long would it be before lack of oxygen or buildup of CO_2 becomes a problem for two people?

CO_2 is such a noxious gas, maybe terrorists should consider it. In the airtight room you describe, CO_2 would overcome you in a matter of hours. Meaning fear would prevail long before a terrorist could reach you with sarin.

From Durango, Colo.: If we were to create a "safe room" in our house with duct tape, etc., how would we determine when to come out, and how would we deal with the contaminated environment from that point on?

If you're concerned about a contaminated environment, well, we already live in one, yet few of us have chosen to go into a "safe room" and live out our lives there. Imagine what would happen if we all put our safe rooms together and made a safe world. For that to happen, our government would first have to stop its warmongering. In the meantime, we as citizens must exchange fear for the courage to fight for peace.

From an undisclosed location: Even asking what we should do to protect ourselves against a chemical attack plays into Bush's fearmongering agenda. The more scared Americans are, the easier it will be to scrap civil liberties and prosecute the "endless war" Bush has talked about. I think acting as if the possibility of a chemical attack is great enough to be discussed in The Nation *actually unwittingly gives momentum to the Bush agenda.*

I'd argue that it's better to oppose the fearmongering than to ignore it. Correcting misinformation, providing perspective, countering fear with probability and learning the real risks: These are treatments for the condition of hysteria that George Bush and Tom Ridge have fostered. We are not powerless. We can resist being immobilized by fear, first, by realizing that isolated terrorist acts can't defeat us and, second, by puncturing propaganda like the empty balloon it is.

MARC SIEGEL, MD

Marc Siegel, MD, is working with the American Council on Science and Health on a bioterror-preparedness manual.

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

The Intuitionist

E.L. DOCTOROW

In the short run, I think, the intellectual satisfaction that came of doing criticism and philosophy as an undergraduate put a damper on the instinctive feeling I had for fiction writing. The rigorous instruction I received in the forms and structures and tropes of literary composition was all analytical and perhaps induced a degree of self-consciousness about my own aspirations. The great philosophical questions were by turns thrilling and humbling. The philosophical categories were immediately and permanently useful, but it was all too easy to lose oneself in the philosophical diction. So that as relevant and invaluable as my education would turn out to be to my life as a writer, I would not settle down to write my first novel until I was years beyond graduation, married, a veteran myself and in my late 20s. I did do some writing at Kenyon, but what I turned out was mere mental exercise. I had gone backward, away from all that natural surging need to express something, anything, to something else—if not backward then certainly up to the regions of the brain, to calculation, study, research, to the conscious application of learning, all of it wrapped tightly in the longings of the ego.

The truth of the matter is that the creative act doesn't fulfill the ego but changes its nature. As you write you are less the person you ordinarily are—the situation confers strength. You learn to trust what comes to you unbidden. You learn to trust the act of writing itself. An idea, an image, a voice, comes to you as a discovery, and you don't possess what you write any more than the mountain climber possesses the mountain.

Writers write by trying to find out what it is they're writing. The artist Marcel Duchamp was once asked why he gave up painting: "Too much of it was filling in," he said. The worker in any medium had best give it up if he finds himself only filling in what has been previously declared and completed in his mind, a creative *fait accompli*. It is not that you have no intellect when you write. It is not that you have no convictions or beliefs. It is that nothing good will come of merely filling in what you already know. You must trust the act of writing to scan all the passions and convictions in your mind, but these must defer to the fortuitousness of the work; they must be of it. A book begins as an image, a sound in the ear, the haunting of something you don't want to remember, or perhaps a great endowing anger. But it is not until you find a voice for whatever it is going on inside you that you can begin to make a coherent composition. The language you find precedes your intention or, if not, is sure to transform it.

I researched outlines for books, I researched subjects for books, I intended to write books. And none of them got written.

By way of illustration I will dwell for a moment on how, accidentally, my first novel came to be written. After college, and after service in the Army of Occupation in Germany, I came home to write and found I could not. I constructed outlines for books, I researched outlines for books, I researched subjects for books, I intended to write books. And none of them got written. At this time I found work as a professional reader for a film company. The job called for reading novels and preparing synopses for the film executives who didn't themselves have time to read, or perhaps couldn't read, but were on the lookout for stories that could be adapted for the screen. In those days, in the late 1950s, westerns were very popular, and so it was given to me to cover one rotten western after another. Despairing of my failed efforts and the wretched pulp I was synopsizing, I thought of quitting. Then, remembering Henry James's admonition to the writer—to be the person on whom nothing is lost—I decided that I could lie about

This essay is excerpted from E.L. Doctorow's new book, Reporting the Universe *(Harvard).*

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the West better than any of the writers I was reading. I put a piece of paper in the typewriter and typed "Chapter One" at the top, just the way writers in the movies do it. I had no plan, no outline, no research. All I had was the impulse to parody. But I had happened upon a wonderful geography book, *The Great Plains*, by Walter Prescott Webb. According to Webb there were no trees out there. It was something I might have known from seeing western movies with their mesas and cattle drives, but for some reason I found this fact immensely evocative. Into my mind came the image of a vast, barren plain, a rock-strewn universe in which, in the distance, a few stick figures were trying to provide themselves a civilization. My desire to destroy the genre forever turned into a serious engagement with its possibilities: If I could write in counterpoint to its conventions, there would be parody, if not in tone then in structure.

All of this came to me in the instant of that image's realization. From the very first sentence I had the voice of the narrator and the situation in which he found himself. None of this was thought out in advance of the writing. I was able to write the book because I had not planned to, and because I was not qualified to, never having been west of Ohio. As a New Yorker I might even have thought Ohio was the West. It was a book that arose solely from the circumstance in which I happened to find myself. *Welcome to Hard Times* is the title under which it was published—a novel set in the Dakota Territory in the 1870s.

I will admit, baldly, that the reviews I received were good enough to certify me as a writer. I thought myself that I'd done a sound piece of work, that I'd pulled it off just as Kafka had in his first novel, *Amerika*, which he wrote without ever having left Prague. And then I received a letter from an elderly lady in Texas. She wrote in a fine, spidery hand, and she said the following: "Young man, I was with you all the way until your Mr. Jenks at his campsite out on the flats made himself a dinner of the roasted haunch of a prairie dog. At that moment I knew that you'd probably never been west of Ohio, because the haunch of a prairie dog wouldn't fill a teaspoon."

Called upon to defend the prerogatives of my art, I replied: "What you say, Madam, may be true of today's prairie dogs. But in the 1870s..."

In fact, Jenks's hunger might have magnified his measly portion into a dinner. But, right or wrong, I've let the line stand in all subsequent editions of the book. I am leery of perfection. In Hawthorne's great story "The Birthmark," a natural scientist insists on concocting a potion that will erase a birthmark from his beautiful young wife's cheek. He regards it as the one blemish on her perfection. Because she loves him, his wife drinks the potion. The birthmark slowly fades until her beauty is at last perfect. At that moment, she dies. And that's why I have left Jenks still out there on the flats having for dinner a roasted haunch of prairie dog. ■

DIARY

Bird on a Wire

RAJA SHEHADEH

I didn't have to wait long for Ziad, the plumber, to come to my house. It had been a year since the current Palestinian intifada broke out in September 2000, and unemployment was at record levels. When Ziad and his two assistants took a break, I offered them coffee and we chatted. Like many Palestinians nowadays, one of the men kept birds. "I have over 200," he said. "I emptied one of the rooms of the house for them. They are great fun and very good business. So many people now want to buy birds. They're beautiful creatures."

"Do you have a parakeet?" I asked.

"Parakeets are expensive. You can't get one for less than 2,000 shekels. And they are sensitive birds. They're too much of a risk."

Ziad, a boyish-looking man with a round, content face and a quivering voice not unlike a bird's, boasted: "I had two."

"What happened to them?" I asked.

"The settlement of Psagot is only a few meters away from the living room where I kept the parakeets. When the intifada began there was heavy firing from the settlement. The female parakeet with the beautiful plumes had a heart attack and her feet collapsed under her. The poor thing was crippled. She had to use her beak to move about. Her male companion was so annoyed he kept poking her. I suppose this was his way of encouraging her to stand on her feet again. We were worried he would kill her. So we separated them. But they missed each other and were constantly calling from across the room. It was so moving to see how they cared for one another. They were so noisy that we almost had to abandon the room for them. Anyway, the sick bird didn't live much longer. One day I didn't hear them calling. I went to check and found the female bird dead. Her companion now had no one to communicate with, and he fell silent. It was such a sad sight. I was tempted to pick up the dead parakeet, go to Psagot, knock on their huge gate and tell them, 'See what you've done to my bird?'"

"And did you get a companion for the male?"

"No. I had to sell him. He didn't fetch much. People only buy pairs. But I couldn't afford to buy another bird."

I was surprised to hear this. I had always assumed Ziad was well off. He had told me that he was born in Kuwait, where his father had worked for twenty-five years. I thought everyone who worked in Kuwait became rich. I had misread his sunny face as a reflection of an affluent and protected background. He was, he told me, happy to be back. "There is nothing like being in one's own country. I never want to be in exile again."

One year after this conversation, when I called Ziad again, he announced that this would probably be the last job he would do for me. He had decided to immigrate to the States.

"I always thought you would be the last man to leave," I said. "Remember you once told me how happy you were to be here? What happened?"

"I don't have enough work. For the past six months I've had to pay my workers out of my own savings."

"Would you rather have stayed in Kuwait?"

"That wasn't an option. You see, before the Gulf War my father worked as a foreman for a large road-construction company. He was doing well. Then when the war started the owner of the company, who was a Qatari, fled the country and my father lost his job and severance pay. As Palestinians,

Raja Shehadeh is the author of Strangers in the House: Coming of Age in Occupied Palestine, *and of the forthcoming* When the Birds Stop Singing: Life in Ramallah Under Siege.

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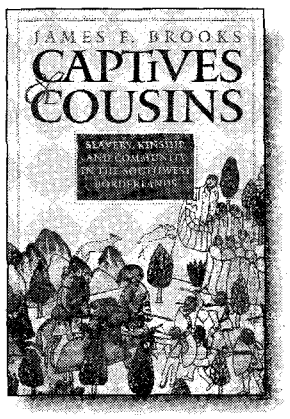

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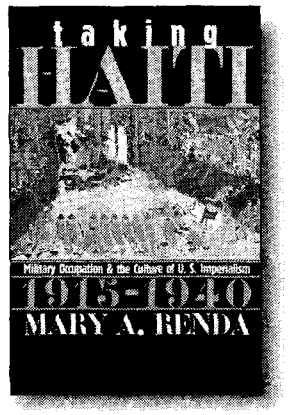

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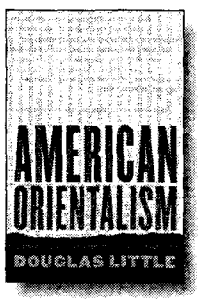

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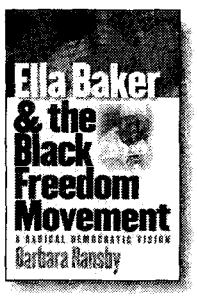

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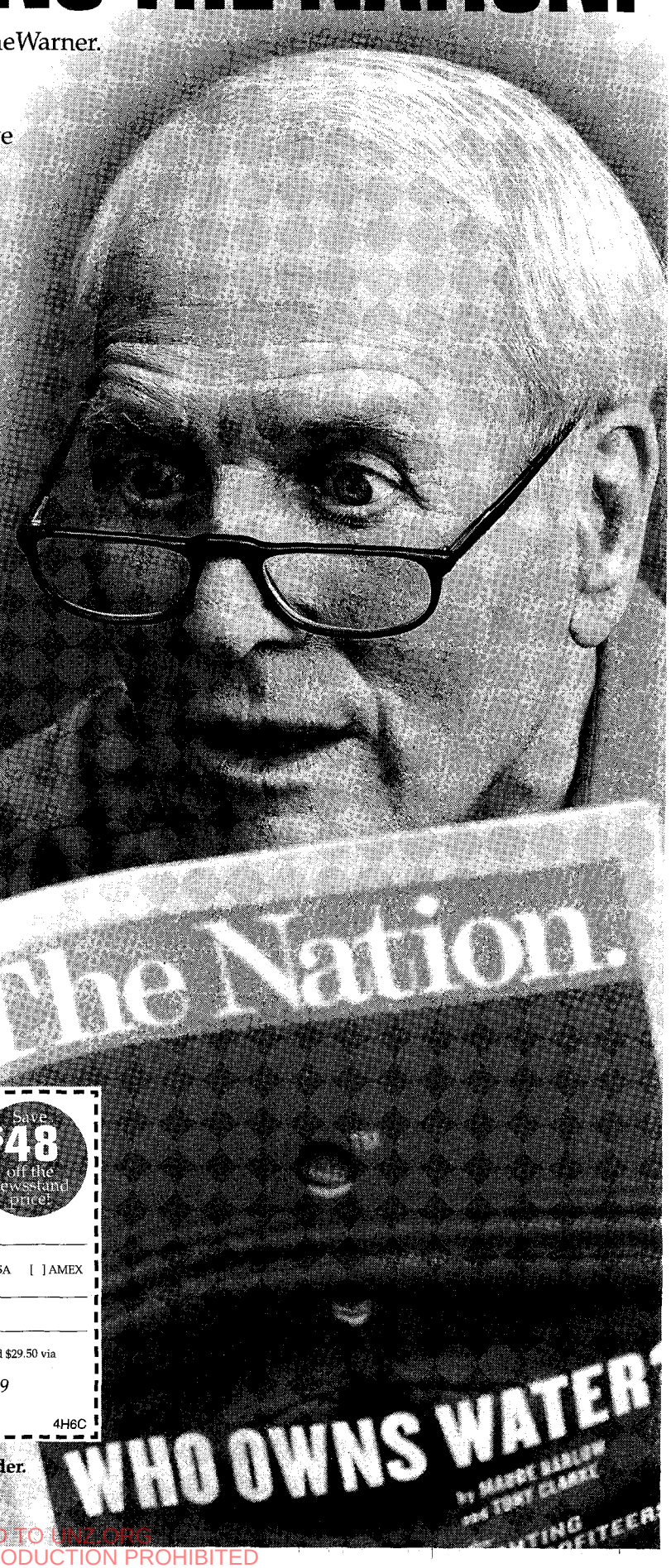

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we were no longer welcome in Kuwait. We had to pack up and return with very little to show for my father's twenty-five years of hard work. Soon after our return, my father suffered a stroke, which paralyzed him. He died one year later."

I looked for signs of pathos in Ziad's face but didn't find them. Resilience and pride enlivened his eyes as he proceeded to describe to me how he managed to succeed against all odds:

"With the building boom after the Oslo Accords I had plenty of work. One of the big jobs I handled was on the mansion of a high-ranking Palestinian official. He constantly told me, 'Use the best material, the most expensive. I want the best.' When the house was finished, the intifada started. A few months later the Israelis bombarded the house with their helicopter gunships. The guy refused to pay. Negotiations continued for a year. He was always surrounded by so many guards. When I finally managed to see him, he would call an assistant and magnanimously tell him: Pay Ziad everything. But it was all empty talk. I didn't get paid. Finally I was offered a deal. One of his assistants told me, 'Take half of what is owed to you or nothing.' I took the half and kept silent. I had so many bills to pay to suppliers and workers. It was like dealing with the mafia. I was always told to send the bills to Arafat's office. This private mansion was financed by public money. Every one of this official's men wanted their share, and I was left to beg for what was owed to me. It was intolerable. I tell you, the shooting from the settlements, the economic crisis, the confinement—all that I could live with, but to be stabbed in the back by one of my own people, this was the worst. It was the straw that broke the camel's back, so to speak. I no longer want to live here. My father-in-law has a grocery shop in Florida. I'm taking my family and getting out of here."

Many who, like Ziad, have the means are leaving Ramallah, "one of the seven microcosms" in the new terminology of the Quartet, the great-power coalition now directing the sluggish Middle East peace process. Apart from Jericho, every city has been made into a kind of protectorate that is dependent on the good graces of the Israeli military commander who controls it. Palestinians keep birds in cages, and the Israeli army keeps Palestinians under siege in conditions hardly different from being confined to large cages.

For nearly two years, the residents of Ramallah have been unable to drive their cars outside the borders of town. Every exit is closed with huge mounds of rubble or controlled by an Israeli checkpoint. The town is surrounded by Israeli settlements

Nina Simone (1933–2003)

Nina Simone, who died at the age of 70 in late April at her home in the south of France, was the Pasionaria of American song in the civil rights era. A defiant humanist, she gave stirring expression to an experience that most white Americans could scarcely imagine, and that few black artists of her time had dared to put into words.

Simone was more than a protest singer, however. She had one of the most astonishing voices in postwar American music—impossibly deep yet unmistakably feminine, lacerating in its intensity yet also capable of disarming tenderness. To listen to her voice was to feel almost hijacked by its power. She radiated a brash, sly sexuality. "What you're wantin' for your man," she sang in "Blues for Mama," is "what he's wantin' too." In another one of her remarkable blues, she asked, "Do I Move You?" It was, of course, a rhetorical question: "The answer better be yes!" A gifted composer, Simone drew on everything from jazz, blues and folk to European cabaret and Bach fugues, long before record executives came up with the term "crossover."

Simone's best songs had the dramatic breadth of musical theater. "Four Women," a harrowing dirge from 1965, recounted the bitter tales of a quartet of black women of varying hues (black, tan, yellow, brown) with the succinct, unsentimental force of Weill and Brecht, in whose work Simone was steeped. Introducing "Mississippi Goddam," her fiery response to Medgar Evers's assassination, to a New York audience in 1964, she said: "This is a show tune, but the show hasn't been written for it yet."

Simone was born Eunice Kathleen Waymon on February 21, 1933, into a poor family in Tryon, North Carolina. Her mother, an ordained minister, led the church choir. Gospel infused Simone's sound, whether she was railing against "Mr. Backlash" or pleading with her lover to put "a little sugar in my bowl." Like her friend James Baldwin, another preacher's child, she expressed herself with an almost prophetic authority; her voice seemed to be lit by a sacred flame. "I have never believed in the separation of gospel music and the blues," she told a writer in 1969. "Negro music has *always* crossed all those lines."

The color line was an implacable fact of life in Tryon. When, at the age of 10, Simone gave her first piano recital at the town library, a group of whites forced her parents to give up their seats in the front row. In 1950 she left the Jim Crow South for New York, where she studied classical piano at the Juilliard School of Music. Four years later, while working as a singer-pianist at a bar in Atlantic City, she adopted the stage name Nina Simone, after Simone Signoret. Bethlehem Records signed her in 1957; two years later, her heartbreaking version of Gershwin's "I Loves You Porgy" sold over a million records.

It was in the mid-1960s, when she was recording for Philips, that Simone truly came into her own as the griot of the civil rights movement. While continuing to sing Gershwin and Weill, she became increasingly adventurous in her choice of material, putting her indelible stamp on Screamin' Jay Hawkins's "I Put a Spell on You," Bob Dylan's "I Shall Be Released" and Jacques Brel's "Ne Me Quitte Pas." She also began to write her own songs, many of which became Movement favorites. These were not merely passionate denunciations of injustice; like the comic routines of Dick Gregory and the speeches of Malcolm X, they heralded the birth of the new black sensibility—uncompromising, ironic, salty. "You don't have to live next to me, just give me my equality!" she declared in "Mississippi Goddam." Brotherly love wasn't on her agenda: "Oh this whole country's full of lies/ Y'all gonna die and die like flies,/I don't trust you anymore/When you keep on saying 'Go slow, go slow!'" The Movement naturally revered her, and H. Rap Brown proclaimed her "the singer of the Black Revolution."

Simone's close identification with the Black Power movement cost her dearly. Record companies seemed suddenly less eager to work with her, and in the early 1970s she decided it was time to leave the country for good. France, where she had many adoring fans, welcomed her as it had welcomed other black artists who found American racism intolerable. There was to be no second act, but the first act of Simone's career shone brightly enough. She put a spell on us, and we are still hers.

ADAM SHATZ

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on every side. At night their lights lace the surrounding hills. Bird-watchers are on the increase in Ramallah. I wonder whether the heightened interest in flying creatures is a substitute for the freedom of movement people so desperately crave.

Not only is vehicular access to the surrounding countryside prohibited, walking is also hazardous. Hill-walking was never a popular activity among Palestinians, despite the countryside's unique beauty and proximity to urban centers. But the knowledge that the hills are there, to be used for the occasional picnic during the few luscious months of spring, meant much to people.

Now the border is where the last house stands. Buildings constructed beyond this line are demolished by the Israeli army, with its immense bulldozers. In one of the strange twists of history, Palestinians have now been confined within the borders of the expanded Jewish state in what are effectively Palestinian ghettos. Within these crowded enclaves they are allowed to govern themselves while being denied the right to enjoy the natural resources of the rest of their country. Condemned for their evil nature, vilified as incorrigible terrorists, they have become the victims of reverse anti-Semitism.

At random and in the dead of night they are vulnerable to the attacks of vigilante Jewish settlers and Israeli soldiers, who drive into Palestinian areas in armored personnel carriers and tanks. Sometimes they force all the male occupants of a refugee camp aged 15 to 50 out of their homes and banish them for one, two or three days. At other times they assassinate men whom they deem to be guilty and demolish the homes of their relatives. Then they leave as freely as they came in, making sure to pile up the mounds of earth and rock that block the entrance they used to attack the community.

Contrary to the claims of the Israeli government, the present spatial relationship between the Jewish and non-Jewish residents of Greater Israel did not emerge in the past few years in response to suicide bombings against Israeli civilians. It has been in the making since 1979, when the land law was changed by military orders to enable Palestinian lands to be claimed as "public land" for the sole and exclusive use of Israeli Jews. The borders of Israel were systematically expanded and the noose around Palestinian areas of habitation was tightened through various land-use planning schemes, until the ownership balance was utterly transformed. The Israeli Jews living in the West Bank, who make up less than 10 percent of the population, now control 50 percent of the land.

Nothing in the Oslo Accords challenged this perversion of the law, which enabled the theft of the land. Nor are proposals made in the much-awaited "road map" for the re-examination of the spurious process by which Jewish settlers have acquired Palestinian land. A settlement freeze is proposed, without the implementing mechanisms that would enable it to materialize. The endpoint of the plan, a Palestinian state with provisional borders, is just another name for the self-governing protectorates that are scattered within the as-yet-unchallenged sovereign territory of Greater Israel.

As happened after the Oslo Accords were signed, the international community would be encouraged to shower the Palestinian people in the "new" Palestine with generous donations to distract them and sweeten the bitter taste of their final surrender and defeat. Dubious economic development would replace genuine liberation. The dream of Greater Israel would become an internationally recognized reality, and those hardy Palestinians without alternatives and with the tenacity to endure would be allowed to remain in the Jewish state, only now they would be in showpieces—bright and shiny gilded cages. ■

Discovery/*The Nation* '03 Prizewinners

The Nation *announces the winners of Discovery/*The Nation*, the Joan Leiman Jacobson Poetry Prize of the Unterberg Poetry Center, 92nd Street Y. Now in its twenty-ninth year, it is an annual contest for poets whose work has not been published previously in book form. The new winners are Patrick Phillips, Robert Sawyer, Kary Wayson and Joel Whitney. This year's judges are April Bernard, Lucie Brock-Broido and James Lasdun. As in the past, manuscripts were judged anonymously. Distinguished former winners of Discovery/*The Nation *include Susan Mitchell, Katha Pollitt, Mary Jo Salter, Sherod Santos, Arthur Smith, Emily Heistand, Debora Greger, Roseanna Warren and David St. John. This year's Discovery/*The Nation *event, featuring readings by the four winners, is scheduled for 8:15 PM on Monday, May 5, at the Unterberg Poetry Center, 92nd Street Y, 1395 Lexington Avenue (92nd and Lexington Avenue) in New York City.* —Grace Schulman, poetry editor

In the Museum of Your Last Day

There is a coat on a coat-hook in a hall. Work-gloves
in the pockets: pliers and bent nails.

There is a case of Quaker State for the Ford.
Two cans of spray-paint in a crisp brown bag.

A mug on a book by the hi-fi.
A disc that starts on its own: Boccherini.

There is a dent in the soap the shape of your thumb.
A swirl in the glass when it fogs.

And a gray hair that twines
through the tines of a little black comb.

There is a watch laid smooth on a wallet.
And pairs of your shoes everywhere.

A phone that no one answers. A note that says *Friday*.
Your voice on the tape talking softly.

Patrick Phillips

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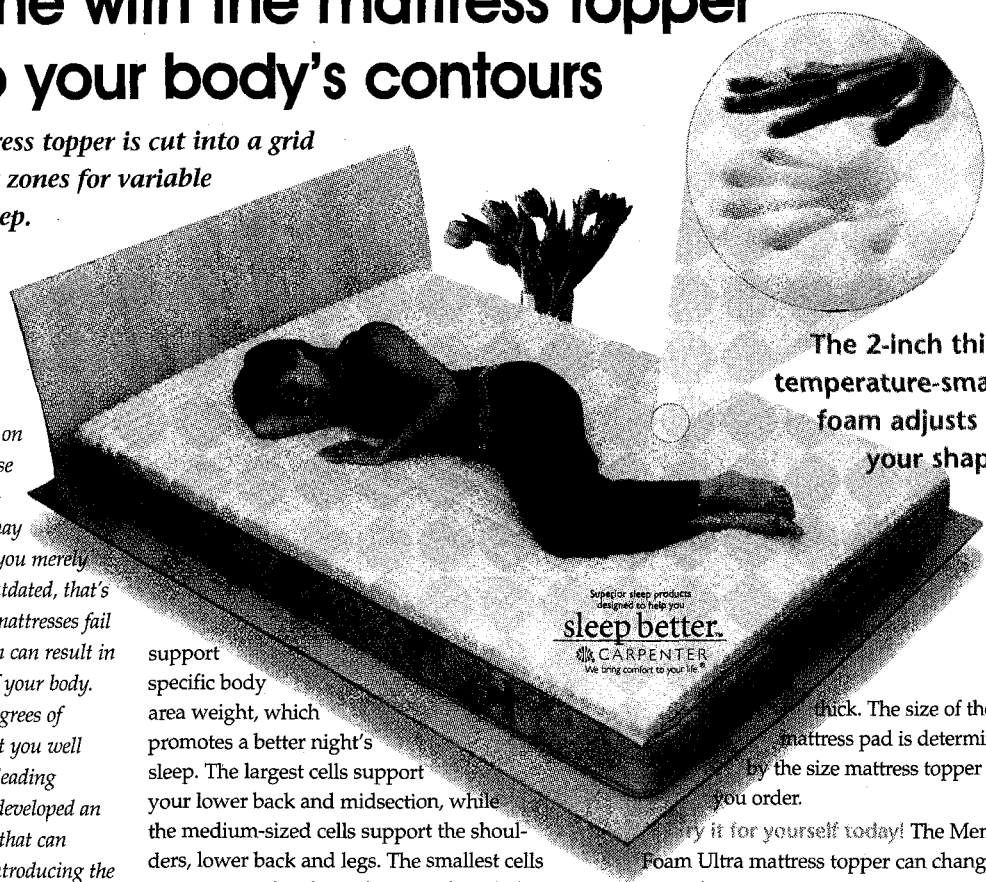

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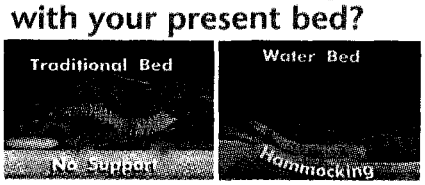

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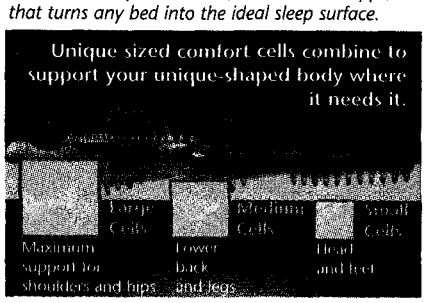
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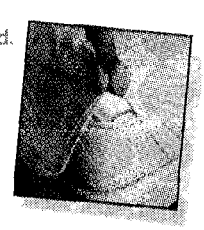

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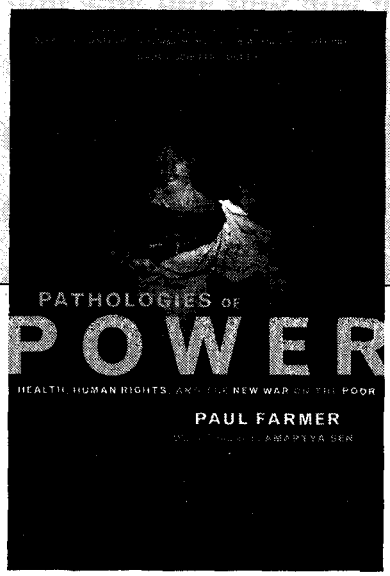

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The Mean Time

After San Francisco, after getting back
from going to San Francisco,
I wash one glass while I unpack
and collect the half-eaten apples
of the afternoon I left
all afternoon. All through each room
of the intolerable tract house
of the afternoon.
The interim of the airplane,
the interrogation of the seat strap, then out
into the bright humiliation of high noon
and I'm back to the embarrassment of the bathroom
where the one window watches
while I tweeze tiny fingers
from the breast of the bath mat between
twelve and two.
I can feel my feet
because I can feel my feet on fire.
Burnt to the slack asphalt
of the black tarmac
staunching the center of the living room.
I am burning because I've been built to burn
and I have been burning
because I've been left to burn
and I am still burning,
built like a boat tied to a float
and I am forbidden to turn.

Kary Wayson

Composed in Your Absence

After W.S. Merwin

When you leave, the starving of the limes
begins in earnest. The grandfather clock
freezes in another time.
The second hand ascends a white hill with no top,

where the Lord of Increment
sleeps under his smoke-feather quilt,
and (within a ring, like ruined peppermint)
the unplanted red azalea wilts.

At night, the snake in the little bower
crawls backwards into his clouded skin.
And all the medicines beside the shower

argue with the green phials they're in.
And the icicles—inverted towers—
drop glass from the gutter's jagged tin.

Joel Whitney

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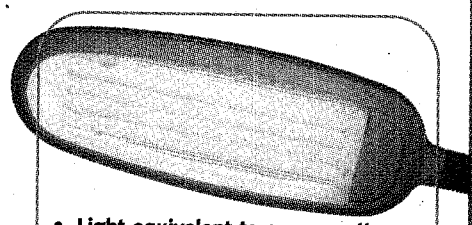

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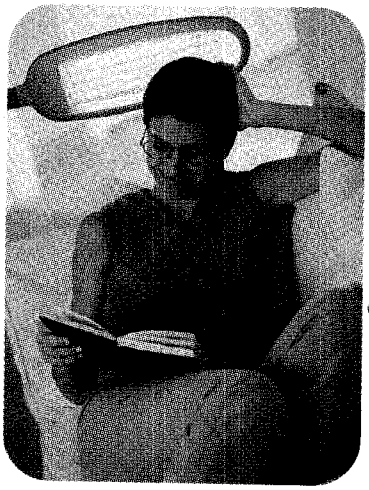

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ENAMELED TWILIGHT

This place, so real, it appears artificial
Like the painted backdrop
Of some Technicolor musical
Where real was simply not good enough.
Here too are colors too true—
Blue without a drop
Of anything that isn't blue.

The sky, sapphire
And the gently rolling spaces
Enameled with a hard ice shell
The blue of a weak gas flame.

And these trees too are blue.
Bereft of song and sway
They tremble against a transparent sky
Like hands reaching for a moment
More of life.

The park's enameled.
Above it, nothing flies,
Across it, nothing moves
Except for this polished ribboned path
And my own darting brown eyes.

Robert Sawyer

FILMS

Kurdish Delight

STUART KLAWANS

MAROONED IN IRAQ • FROM DISTANT SHORES • FILMS FROM ALONG THE SILK ROAD • IT RUNS IN THE FAMILY

International cinema has an irresistible new pair of reprobates: middle-aged brothers who can do no right in their lives and no wrong before the camera. Barat (Faegh Mohammadi), who is famous in his native Kurdistan as a singer and woodwind player, combines the styles of the Hell's Angels and the world-music circuit. Proud owner of a motorcycle and sidecar, he dresses in a traditional belted robe accessorized with a blue headcloth and wraparound shades, the possession of which requires him to parade about with his matinee-idol chin stuck imperturbably in the air. He's the slicked-back bachelor of the pair; whereas chubby Audeh (Allah-Morad Rashtian), a singer and drum-banger, behaves in the excited manner of a man with seven wives, thirteen daughters and the halo hair of Gene Shalit.

Whenever these two stand side by side, playing their instruments and crying out old Kurdish tunes, *Marooned in Iraq* bounces into crazy, impudent life. Written and directed by the Iranian Kurd Bahman Ghobadi (whose first feature was the well-received *A Time for Drunken Horses*), the film revels in the cluelessness, vanity and open-throttle talent of Barat and Audeh: characters who seem like overgrown kids most of the time, but who become so outsize when they perform that the camera has to back off and give them room. When I close my eyes and recall *Marooned in Iraq*, I picture Barat and Audeh in a low-angle medium shot, motorhead hipster next to teddy bear, as they wail away at somebody's wedding. I envision mountain roads under a crisp blue sky, fields of snow, crowds of children, a shack that houses a steamy cafe.

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Alan Pogue, Basra, 1996

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I also see a vast refugee camp, its lanterns dotting a midnight valley; I make out a ravine in dim afternoon light, where dozens of women are sobbing over a mass grave. And I hear, mixed in with the soundtrack music, the swoosh and boom of jet planes going on bombing runs.

An amalgam of road movie, ethnographic musical, feminist satire and political protest, *Marooned in Iraq* is the story of how Barat and Audeh answer the summons of their father, the imperious old master musician Mirza (Shahab Ebrahimi), who insists that they travel with him from Iran to Iraq. Word has reached him that the fourth and last in his series of wives, Hanareh, is in danger on the Iraqi side and wants his help. Never mind that she left Mirza twenty-three years ago, running off with his best friend and musical partner; never mind that Barat and Audeh have only contempt for her. If Hanareh needs him, then nothing will hold Mirza back—not the bandits on the road, not the bombing sorties and certainly not the full truth about his mission, which he grandly conceals from his sons to get them to come along.

As Mirza and his boys proceed on their way, the landscape of dusty, warm-colored crags becomes wintry and white, and the film's tone shifts from raucous, semi-comic anarchy (in a style reminiscent of Emir Kusturica) to one of chaotic suffering. Clearly, Ghobadi is taking his characters deeper and deeper into troubled territory—although the precise nature of the trouble remains intriguingly ambiguous.

Refugees are pouring across the border. There have been massacres on the Iraqi side, attacks with poison gas, roundups of whichever able-bodied men may have survived. The date is left unstated; but given these events, the year would seem to be 1991–92, with Saddam Hussein being the chief target of Ghobadi's protest. (Although Ghobadi is careful in interviews not to endorse the US war in Iraq, he has plenty to say against Saddam.) But just when you think you've fixed the story's date and meaning, it slips away again. You may deduce that Hanareh left her husband and Iran around the time of the Islamic revolution, when she was banned from pursuing a career as a professional singer. So the ayatollahs, too, would seem to be objects of Ghobadi's wrath (unstated objects, given his country of residence); and if you count forward twenty-three years from when they took power, then *Marooned in Iraq* must be happening in the present, as much as in the early 1990s.

A neat trick, this bitemporality; and it's only one of many that Ghobadi pulls off. A filmmaker with a brisk, fluent, varied style, he can move from lovely, quasi-documentary passages (such as a visit to a brick-making factory) to images of poetic fantasy (a flurry of paper airplanes tossed by schoolchildren) to outspoken protests (including the tirade addressed by a young woman, a teacher of orphans, to the dimly sexist Audeh). That Ghobadi got the mix right is wonderful. That he did so outdoors in a snowbound border region, while working with a large cast of nonprofessionals, seems to me nothing short of amazing. *Marooned in Iraq* may fall short of being a masterpiece, but it's definitely some sort of miracle.

Screening Schedule: If *Marooned in Iraq* sounds like a film that would appeal to you, then you also might enjoy such movies as *Silences of the Palace* by Moufida Tlatli, a Tunisian drama about women serving (and singing) in modern-day feudal conditions; or *Bab El-Oued City* by Merzak Allouache, a terrific picture about Islamic fundamentalists taking control of a working-class quarter in Algiers; or *The Little Girl Who Sold the Sun* by Djibril Diop Mambéty, a parable about a crippled girl in Dakar who holds her own as a newspaper vendor against the rough competition of boys; or *Life on a String* by Chen Kaige, an ostensibly folkloric tale of a dying Chinese musician and his apprentice, set in a wild, gorgeous, widescreen landscape.

What these films all have in common is that they were completed with grants from the Hubert Bals Fund, a financing program of the International Film Festival Rotterdam. As the festival's founding director, Bals helped introduce European audiences to any number of visually arresting films from Africa, Asia and Latin America. Since his death in 1988, the fund that was established in his name has contributed to so many outstanding films that New York's Museum of Modern Art can now present a whole series devoted to them.

From Distant Shores: 15 Years of the Hubert Bals Fund is on view at MoMA's Gramercy Theatre, May 2–25. *Silences of the Palace*, *Bab El-Oued City*, *The Little Girl Who Sold the Sun*, *Life on a String* and twenty-one other features and documentaries are on the program, which will subsequently tour other cities throughout North America. If you're in MoMA's vicinity and want to be among the first to sample the program, you can get information by calling (212) 777-4900 or visiting www.moma.org.

And if you're still hungry for movies with a non-American flavor, you can also

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try *Films From Along the Silk Road*, a retrospective of pictures from Central Asia, on view May 2–29 at the Walter Reade Theater of the Film Society of Lincoln Center. Presented with support from the Open Society Institute, the series covers the years 1945–2003 and offers forty features and shorts from a very wide swath of Genghis Khan territory: Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. I second the programmers, when they say these "hand-crafted wonders" come from countries that are "as culturally rich as they are cash poor." For information, phone (212) 875-5600 or visit www.filmlinc.com.

Short Take: When Kirk Douglas broke into Hollywood during the final years of the studio system, actors used to feel they were doing all right if they made one good picture out of five. *It Runs in the Family* is Douglas's eighty-sixth film. However many fine movies he has made in his time, the great and once-beautiful Douglas didn't need this creepfest counting against his ratio.

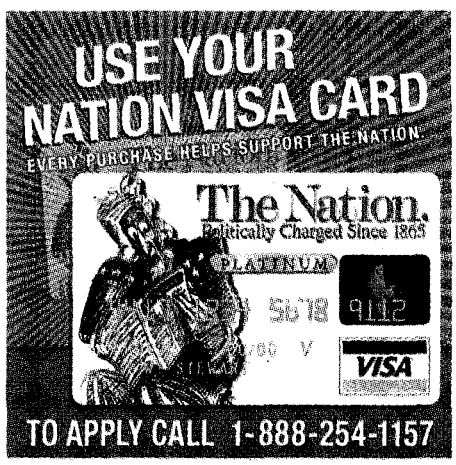
The idea behind *It Runs in the Family* would seem plausible: Make another *On Golden Pond*, but with Douglases instead of Fondas. Kirk plays the patriarch of the Grombergs, a wealthy family of New York Jews. His former wife Diana plays his wife; his son Michael plays his son; and his grandson Cameron plays one of his grandsons. (The other grandson turns out to be Rory Culkin; go figure.) Kirk and Michael get to have their moment of history together on the screen, and the audience (on its way to a heart-warming) gets to wonder about which filial exasperations are real and which are made up for fun.

The credits roll; and immediately your ears warn you of suffering ahead. The lite-jazz theme music, featuring a trumpeter who must have apprenticed under Herb Alpert, sounds as if it had been bought at auction, settling the debts of a production company that folded in the 1970s. Then comes our introduction to the elder Gromberg, who is first seen in the midst of a medical exam to establish that Douglas (who has recovered from a stroke) is playing a man who has recovered from a stroke. "You've got a few good years left," the doctor reassures him. Douglas waves his arms and asks, laboriously, "How do you know? Do you talk to The Man Upstairs?"

At this point, I must mention the name of Jesse Wigutow, who wrote that snatch of dialogue and many others like it. His screenplay for *It Runs in the Family* could not have been more primitive had it been dug out of clay tablets with a stick. The big laughs come from having Kirk Douglas splutter the words "schmuck" and "shtup" and talk about peeing. There's a fart joke—not a funny one. There's grandfatherly advice to Cameron—an appalling actor, playing an unappealing young man—on how to "close the deal" with women.

Dismay, rather than pathos, attends the juxtaposition of such moments with displays of photographs of Kirk Douglas in his youth. It's as if the film were savoring the spectacle of one famous man's frailty, rather than meditating on what age may do to us all. Past a certain point, you want to look away—but horror keeps your eyes fixed on the screen, even during the perfunctory and heartless scene in which Kirk Douglas acts out the discovery of Diana dead in bed.

It took two studios, MGM and Buena Vista, to release this picture and Michael Douglas himself to produce it. No father, no moviegoer, ought to feel safe anymore. ■



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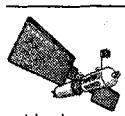

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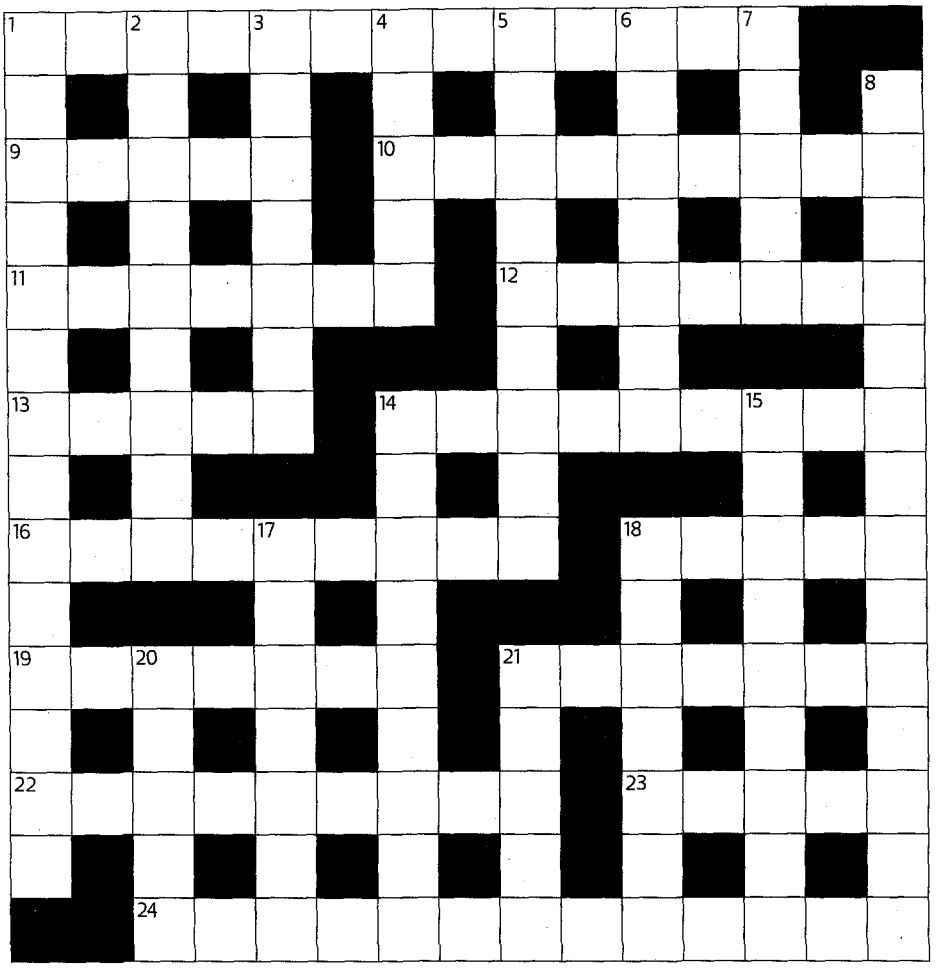
PUZZLE NO. 2893

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 What air-conditioner salesmen promise—being slangly for the self-possessed. (4,9)

9 One may be told to cook candy until this, which seems rather undesirable. (5)

10 Do such types say, "Let us prey?" (9)

11 Those little gadgets that let you twang, one of the Roosevelts being in the wrong place. (7)

12 There's nothing in the list for one who just sits there! (7)

13 Has to make what witnesses may take—or what darners put out if they really get mad. (5)

14 What weapons dealers may do as a call to the ranks. (5,4)

16 Such people as Hennessey Tennessee, who tootled along. (9)

18 Give way, although possibly freed. (5)

19 Certainly a statuesque lady, found in a hoop-de-do four o'clock occasion. (7)

21 Did it supply manna from heaven to the hungry Berliners? (7)

22 Rules about the stupid person gives one a new posting. (9)

23 One having it is not concerned with anything interest-bearing. (5)

24 Junior perhaps hoped it would be on track sometime before the end of the year. (8,5)

DOWN

1 A poor skater probably does—as might a clumsy player with paper dolls. (3,1,4,6)

2 As a co-star, her makeup is bad—such things as this belong in the pits! (9)

3 Somewhat arch—and though nothing gets set up, one could certainly raise a howl! (7)

4 A cooked pie, as it comes out very brown, unsurprisingly. (5)

5 If one does, one may not want to sit down for a while! (Rover dies in agony.) (9)

6 In love in Paris—which in London particularly is a way to captivate. (7)

7 Perhaps a game animal that shows deviation. (5)

8 One gets certain drugs this way, second-class at a WWI battle site, with what sounds grave with one on. (2,12)

14 Attacks what a joke with a point should get, and is not wrong about it. (9)

15 Votes are returned by them, and pertain to a conclusion on a conclusion. (9)

17 Season preceding this, according to many cookbooks. (2,5)

18 This before the dawn, they say, means Ted's crazy about the old boat! (7)

20 Around a rough sea, the French get something you may have on the house. (5)

21 Very musical, which shows that only a fool rises in the best surroundings. (5)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, *The Nation*, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/print/hints.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2892

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E	■	E	■	R	■	A	■	L	■	T	■	H	■	O
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D	I	N	N	E	R	S	E	T	■	D	R	I	V	E
Y	■	G	■	S	■	P	■	R	■	S	■	T	■	D
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B	■	R	■	C	■	E	■	C	■	N	■	S	■	Y
A	P	O	P	L	E	C	T	I	C	■	■	■	■	■
D	■	U	■	E	■	E	■	T	■	T	■	T	■	A
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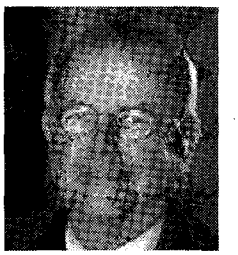

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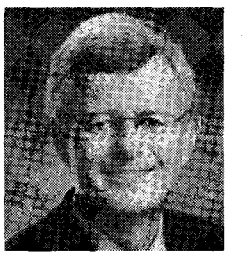

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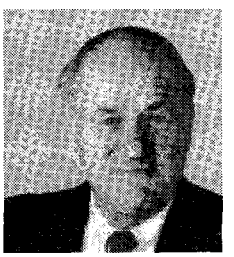

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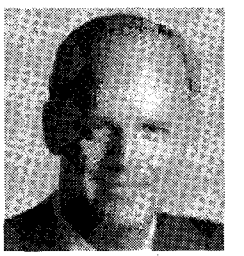

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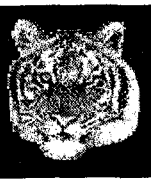

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